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THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE

By the same Author

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Marchioness of Mantua, 1474-1539.
A Study of the Renaissance.

THE PILGRIM'S WAY
From Winchester to Canterbury.

Edited by

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BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE, THE PERFECT COURTIER: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS, 1478-1529.

CHRISTINA OF DENMARK, DUCHESS OF MILAN AND LORRAINE, 1522-90.

The Head of the Virgin

from the cartoon in the possession of the Royal Academy.

THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE

FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY JULIA CARTWRIGHT

(MRS ADY)

LONDON

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PREFACE

THE Florentine School of Painting is in many respects the finest and most interesting in the world. If its masters cannot be said to equal the Venetians in depth and splendour of colour, they surpass those of all other cities in beauty of line and elevation of thought, in grandeur of conception and intellectual force. During the great revival of art and learning which took place in Italy, from the beginning of the fourteenth to the close of the sixteenth century, Florence took the lead among Italian cities and became the home of the literary, artistic and scientific movement. Both the political conditions of the state and national character of the people combined to produce an intellectual and artistic supremacy only equalled by that of Athens in days of old. The Florentine artist grew up in a free and prosperous city, surrounded by an atmosphere of culture in which the passion for beauty was allied with a keenly critical faculty. He found wealthy patrons to encourage and reward him, and a public quick to understand and appreciate his skill and to judge of his merits. His own creative powers, thus stimulated, found expression in works of art which became famous far beyond the borders

of Tuscany. The painters and sculptors of Florence travelled all over Italy and exerted a wide-spread influence on the schools of other cities, from the days of Giotto, the great awakener, to those of Leonardo and Michelangelo. At the same time, Florence became a centre to which the finest intellects and best artists were attracted from Umbria and Lombardy. Here Gentile da Fabriano and Piero dei Franceschi, Luca Signorelli and Perugino came in search of the training which they could not find elsewhere; here young Raphael studied the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel and the cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo. And to-day, across the lapse of ages, Florence draws us still. The power of her spell is mighty still, and leads us to linger among the wonders of Renaissance art that adorn the churches and convents, the halls and palaces, upon the banks of Arno. Although the ravages of time and the neglect of man have doomed many precious works to destruction, enough is still left to show us the glory of the art of Florence in her golden days. Enough remains to give us a clear and definite idea of the style of each individual artist in the long roll of illustrious masters who succeeded each other from the days of Giotto to those of Michelangelo, and who were, many of them, not only painters, but architects, sculptors, goldsmiths, men of letters, and even poets. It is a list of famous names and striking personalities such as no other art-history in the world can offer.

Since Mr. Ruskin, nearly fifty years ago, first opened our eyes to the wonder and beauty of early Florentine painting, a vast amount of careful study has been bestowed upon the subject by scholars of all nationalities. In England, the earnest and thoughtful writings of Lord Lindsay, of Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, have been succeeded by the more serious labours of Sir Joseph Crowe and Signor Cavalcaselle, whose history of Italian painting still retains a high place among the best authorities. In France, M. Müntz and M. Lafenestre, in Germany, Dr. Bode, Dr. Woltmann and Dr. Woermann and a host of other well-known critics have followed in their steps. Above all, Signor Morelli, by his introduction of a more exact and scientific study, has inaugurated a new epoch in art-history. During the last few years his method has been pursued in different directions, with far-reaching results, by such distinguished connoisseurs as Signor Frizzoni, Dr. Richter, Dr. Wickhoff of Vienna, Dr. Schmarzow and Mr. Berenson. At the same time a flood of new light has been thrown upon the lives of Renaissance artists by recent researches in the archives of Florence, and the records of monastic houses and noble families. Many of these newly-discovered documents were incorporated in Signor Milanesi's edition of Vasari's "Lives," and are mentioned by Sir Henry Layard in the latest edition of Kugler's "Handbook of Italian Painting." But each year brings new facts to light and adds to our knowledge

of a subject which must always be of deep and absorbing interest.

The increased interest now taken in Italian art by travellers, creates a distinct demand for a book in which the results of these researches are brought together, and the student is supplied with a brief account of the lives and works of the chief Florentine painters.

Among the authorities whose names are given in the following list, my thanks are especially due to Mr. Berenson, while I am indebted to Mr. Roger Fry for many valuable suggestions on technical points, and to Signor Alinari and Signor Anderson for their kind permission to reproduce several of their excellent photographs of Florentine masterpieces.

JULIA CARTWRIGHT.

Storia della Pittura in Italia," per G. B. Cavalcaselle and J. A. Crowe (Lemonnier).

'Le Vite de' più Eccellenti Pittori," scritte da Giorgio Vasari, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi (Sansoni).

" Delle Notizie de' Professori del Disegno," di Filippo Baldinucci.

" Carteggio inedito d' Artisti dei Secoli xiv. xv. xvi." dal Dott. Giovanni Gaye.

" Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens," von Jacob Burckhardt.

" Italian Painters," by Giovanni Morelli, translated by C. J. Ffoulkes. (Murray.)

" The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," by Bernhard Berenson. Third edition. (Putnam, 1909.)

"La Peinture Italienne," par Georges Lafenestre.
"La Peinture en Europe—Florence," par G. Lafenestre et E. Richtenberger.
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"Franz von Assisi und die Anfang der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien," H. Thode.
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"Masaccio," F. G. Knudtzon.
"L'Arte Italiana del Rinascimento," da Gustavo Frizzoni.
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"Sandro Botticelli," von Ernst Steinmann.
"Sandro Botticelli," von H. Ulmann.
"Il Campo Santo di Pisa," J. B. Supino.
"Fra Angelico," J. B. Supino.
"Botticelli," J. B. Supino.
"Piero di Cosimo," von Fritz Knapp.
"Leonardo da Vinci," par Eugène Müntz.
"Ricerche intorno a Leonardo da Vinci," da Gustavo Uzielli.
"Life of Michelangelo," by J. A. Symonds.
"Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters, herausgegehen," von Dr. Dohme.
"Sandro Botticelli," by Herbert Horne. (Bell, 1908.)
"Giottino," Oswald Sirèn: 1908.
"Andrea Verrocchio," by M. Cruttwell. (Duckworth, 1904.)
"L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte": 1888-1900.
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THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE

I

CIMABUE

1240-1302

THE origin of Florentine painting still remains wrapt in obscurity. But it is certain that in the dark and troubled times that followed the barbarian invasion and the fall of the Roman Empire, the practice of art never wholly died away in Italy. After the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire, in the ninth century, it probably reached the lowest ebb, and it is only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that signs of renewed activity, both among painters and mosaic-workers, can be traced. Two chief influences are apparent in the rude style of the native artists of mediæval Italy. On the one hand we have the Roman tradition that lingered on in the early mosaics of Ravenna, and in the remains of painting and sculpture which adorn the Catacombs. The civilisation of ancient Rome had sunk too deeply into the heart of Italy to be quite forgotten. Not only in the Eternal City, but all through Italy, remnants of classical art, temples and sarcophagi, still kept alive the spark of

antique culture in the heart of the people, and debased pagan types figured in the earliest representation of Christian subjects. This influence was always re-appearing in one form or another—in the classical architecture of churches, such as the Baptistery or San Miniato of Florence, and the decorative sculpture which we still see on twelfth century façades in Umbria, or again in the antique forms adopted by the Cosmati artists and mosaic-workers of mediæval Rome. On the other hand there was the influence of Byzantium, which from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries supplied not only Eastern but Western Europe with its art, and became the medium through which classical traditions were handed on to the masters of France, Germany and Italy. This influence was chiefly felt in Venice and in Sicily, but at one time it held considerable sway in Tuscany, especially at Siena, where Byzantine traditions still prevailed in Giotto's time. To a certain extent the same influences were apparent in the Florentine art of the day, although here they were mingled with other elements, and the lifelike feeling and spontaneous vivacity of native art asserted itself more fully at an earlier period. But even in Florence, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the technique of artists was, for the most part, learnt at Constantinople, and the types in use were those laid down by the second Council of Nicea, and rigidly followed in the representation of Christian subjects It was only towards the close of the thirteenth century that the great revival came, and the strong tide of the new Christian art swept away the lingering remnants of decadent classicism and effete

Byzantine tradition. The true leader of that movement, the real founder of the Italian Renaissance, was St. Francis of Assisi. He it was who by boldly proclaiming the brotherhood of the human race, and the equal rights of each individual soul in the sight of God, gave life a new glory and filled the old truths with new and diviner meaning. He it was who first set forth the love of God and the tender human relations of the Virgin Mother and her Child, and whose glowing eloquence and passionate devotion inspired artists with a new conception, which lived on through the next three centuries to reach its highest expression in the perfect art of Raphael. He it was, again, who, seeing the face of God in the beauty of the natural world, praising Him for the radiant splendour of his good brother *Messer Sole*, and calling the birds his little sisters, first opened the eyes of men to the wonder and loveliness about them, and made them see that this earth was very good. The enthusiasm of his new Gospel stirred the hearts of all Italy, and bore fruit in a thousand different forms. Instead of seeking desert solitudes and retreats hidden from the world, the friars of the new order settled in the most populous quarters of the cities. The crowds who flocked to hear them preach, the wealth with which they were endowed by rich citizens, led to the foundation of churches and convents in every town and village. These in their turn created a new and sudden demand for pictorial decoration, and thus the relations between the Mendicant friars and the burgher class produced the art of the Renaissance.

The natural artistic capacity of the Tuscan race and

the political conditions of the time were both favourable to the rise of this new Christian art. The first great master of the Renaissance was the sculptor Niccolò Pisano, a man of undoubtedly Tuscan birth, who, by forming his style on antique models, laid the foundation for all future progress. But although Niccolò began, about 1260, by carving Madonnas and angels, after the pattern of the bas-reliefs on ancient sarcophagi, before the end of his career he felt the power of another influence. This was the Gothic movement, which had already produced such splendid results in the architecture and sculpture of French Cathedrals, and was very rapidly spreading south of the Alps. While the romances of French chivalry and the songs of Provençal *trouvères* became every day more popular in Italy, French ivories and miniatures gradually found their way into Tuscany, and French artists were invited to the Courts of Angevin and Hohenstaufen princes at Naples and Palermo. This Gothic feeling it was which modified Niccolò Pisano's conceptions in later years, and inspired the bas-reliefs and statues of his son Giovanni with that wonderful dramatic sense and vehement energy which brings him so near to Giotto. The new movement soon made itself strongly felt in Florence, where, before the end of the century, a scholar of Niccolò Pisano, Arnolfo di Cambio reared the walls of the Gothic Duomo and the Franciscan church of Santa Croce, and planned the lofty tower of the Palazzo Vecchio. Painting in its turn felt the new impulse, and the revived artistic activity is evident in the large numbers of painters whose names appear in contemporary records. By the laws of

Florence, painters belonged to the Guild of doctors and apothecaries, which was one of the seven Major Arts, or higher class of trades, and each artist was required to matriculate in this body before he could practise as an independent master. This close connection between painting and medicine dates back to very early days, and receives further illustration from the fact that St. Luke was the patron of both doctors and artists. During the last ten years of the thirteenth century more than twenty masters, who all had workshops and apprentices, are mentioned as living in Florence, and a street in the heart of the city bore the name of the Via dei Pittori. Among all these, the only painter who attained a high degree of reputation was Giovanni Cenni, surnamed Cimabue, after some member of a noble Florentine family by whom he was adopted, and generally known by this name. Both Dante and Vasari speak of him as the foremost artist of his age, and Vasari relates how this man was born, by the will of God, in the year 1240, to give the first light to the art of painting. In the account of Cimabue's life which follows, the historian tells us that as a boy he was sent to study letters in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, where instead of learning grammar he spent his time in watching the Greek painters at work in the neighbouring church. Since Santa Maria Novella was only built when Cimabue was forty years of age, this statement can hardly be correct; but Vasari is probably right in saying that the Florentine master owed his training to artists of Byzantine origin. The remainder of Vasari's biography is of the same legendary nature. After enumerating Cimabue's

chief altar-pieces and frescoes in the churches of Florence, of Pisa and Assisi, he describes the great Madonna which he painted for the chapel of the Rucellai family in Santa Maria Novella, and tells us how, in the ecstasy of their admiration, the people bore the picture in solemn procession, to the sound of trumpets, from the master's house to the church. "It is further reported," adds the biographer, "that while Cimabue was painting this picture, in a garden near the gate of San Pietro, King Charles of Anjou passed through Florence, and the magistrates conducted him to see the painting of Cimabue. When this work was shown to the king, it had not yet been seen by any one, so all the men and women in Florence hastened in crowds to see it with the greatest demonstrations of joy. And the inhabitants of the neighbourhood afterwards called the quarter Borgo Allegri, a name it has ever since retained, although in course of time it became enclosed within the city walls."

Since Charles of Anjou visited Florence in 1267, and the Rucellai Madonna was evidently painted at a later period of Cimabue's career, Vasari's tale, it is plain, must be accepted with reserve. Modern criticism, it must be owned, has dealt rudely with this master's fame. Seventy years ago Rumohr boldly pronounced Vasari's account of Cimabue to be the pure invention of Florentine municipal vanity, and Dr. Wickhoff has lately declared that it is doubtful whether a single painting by Cimabue is now in existence. None the less, a careful examination of the works which bear his name may enable us to form a clear and definite idea of the old Florentine's

style. Three of the Madonnas ascribed to him by Vasari still remain: the altar-piece which he painted for the monks of the Vallombrosan Order in the Church of the Trinità, now in the Accademia of Florence; the picture in the Louvre, which he executed for the Franciscans of Pisa—a work which Vasari tells us "brought him high praise and large rewards," and the Rucellai Madonna, in Santa Maria Novella. All three of these pictures are painted on a gold ground, and follow the laws of Byzantine tradition. In all three Virgins we see the same long, curved nose, the same droop of the head, the same elliptic iris, oval-shaped eyes, and small mouth drawn on one side. Again, in all three pictures we see the same stiff, triangular folds of drapery, the same action of the attendant angels, who clasp the throne as if supporting it, and the same shaped throne, which, in each case, is not of stone, as in Duccio's altar-pieces, but of carved wood. The Rucellai Madonna is evidently of later date than Cimabue's other altar-pieces, and bears marks of a distinct advance in his artistic development; but the general features remain the same, and the strong likeness of the Virgin's type of face to that of an angel in his Academy picture, seems to prove that both works are by the hand of the same master. A critic of authority, Dr. Richter, has, indeed, lately ascribed this Madonna to Duccio, on the strength of a document which shows that the Sienese master received a commission to paint an altar-piece for Santa Maria Novella in 1285; but we have no proof that this order was ever executed, and it is far more probable that it was finally given to the Florentine Cimabue. The general inferiority of the

whole conception in grace and feeling, to that of Duccio, is evident at first sight, while a close comparison of this picture, with the great Sienese master's genuine works reveals a variety of minor differences in technique and style. We may therefore safely accept the old tradition, recorded by Vasari, and confirmed by an earlier and more trustworthy writer, Albertini (1510), and believe that this altar-piece, which still hangs in the Rucellai Chapel, is the last and best of Cimabue's Madonnas, the picture which made the heart of old Florence glad, and was borne in triumph through her streets.

Some remains of Cimabue's frescoes may still be found at Assisi, where, Vasari tells us, he was invited, "in company with certain Greek masters, to paint the roof of the Lower Church of S. Francesco, together with the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis, on the walls." The learned and accurate Franciscan friar, Petrus Rudolphus, who wrote a careful description of the great church in 1586, records that Cimabue and Giotto both worked there, and Ghiberti, writing early in the fifteenth century, says that Cimabue painted the whole of the Upper Church of Assisi. Most of the early frescoes in the Lower Church have been destroyed, and the hands of many different artists are apparent in the paintings of the Upper Church; but in the south transept of the Lower Church, close to the noble works painted by Giotto a few years later, we find a Madonna attended by angels, bearing strong marks of Cimabue's style, which his great scholar may well have left untouched out of respect to his master. This Virgin is of the same Byzantine type as those in his other altar-pieces, the throne is of the same carved

wood, and by the side of the attendant angels a full-length figure of St. Francis appears on the wall. Cimabue's hand may be also recognised in the angels in the triforium of the Upper Church and in a large Crucifixion on the wall of the south transept. This last-named fresco is completely ruined, but in the figures grouped around the Cross, and the gestures of the weeping angels who hover in the air, we trace the first attempts to render natural feeling, the first crude efforts of native Italian art to break through the trammels of Byzantine tradition. Both here and in the tempera altar-pieces we recognise the spark of vitality which Cimabue was the first to introduce in Florentine painting, and which explains the great reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries. A proud and arrogant man, as he is described by Dante's oldest commentator, Cimabue lived to experience the vanity of earthly renown, and to see his fame eclipsed by that of his young scholar.

> "Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
> Sì che la fama di colui s'oscura."

The last works of Cimabue were executed at Pisa, where he painted some frescoes in the hospital of Santa Chiara, and, in 1302, received a sum in payment, at the rate of ten *soldi* a day, for a mosaic of a colossal St. John on the vault of the Duomo. Soon afterwards he died, and was buried within the newly raised walls of his friend Arnolfo's Duomo, where a Latin epitaph was inscribed upon his tomb, saying that in his lifetime Cimabue held the field in painting, and now holds the stars of Heaven.

As an artist, Cimabue was distinctly inferior to his

contemporary, the Sienese Duccio, the last illustrious Byzantine master, and still more inferior to his own scholar Giotto, the first of the great Florentines; but he deserves to be remembered as a painter whose work gave the first promise of a return to nature, and who may justly be called a herald of the coming dawn.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia delle belle Arti: 102. Madonna and Child, with Angels and Prophets.

" *S. Maria Novella: Rucellai Chapel:* Madonna and Child with Angels.[1]

Assisi. — *Upper Church:* Frescoes — Crucifixion, Angels.

" *Lower Church, S. transept:* Madonna and Angels with St. Francis.

Pisa.—Duomo: Mosaic of St. John.

Paris.—Louvre: 1260. Madonna and Child, with six Angels.

[1] Not only Dr. Richter, but Dr. Wickhoff and Mr. Langton Douglas, hold the Rucellai Madonna to be the work of Duccio, while Signor Suida and others ascribe it neither to Cimabue nor Duccio, but to an unknown Sienese artist.

II

GIOTTO

1276–1335

"In a village of Etruria," writes Lorenzo Ghiberti, the oldest historian of the Florentine Renaissance, "Painting took her rise." In other words, Giotto di Bondone was born in the year 1276, at Colle, in the Commune of Vespignano, a village of the Val Mugello fourteen miles from Florence. There the boy, who had been called Angiolo, after his grandfather, and went by the diminutive name of Angiolotto, or Giotto, kept his father's flocks on the grassy slopes of the Apennines, and was found one day by Cimabue as he rode over the hills, drawing a sheep with a sharp stone upon a rock. Full of surprise at the child's talent for drawing, the great painter asked him if he would go back with him to Florence, to which both the boy and his father, a poor peasant named Bondone, gladly agreed. Thus, at ten years old, Giotto was taken straight from the sheep-folds and apprenticed to the first painter in Florence. Such is the story told by Ghiberti and confirmed by Leonardo da Vinci, who, writing half a century before Vasari, remarks that Giotto, being born in the mountains, took Nature for his guide, and began by

drawing the sheep and goats which he herded on the rocks around him.

Another version of the incident is given by an early commentator of Dante, who wrote towards the end of the fourteenth century, a few years before Ghiberti. According to him Giotto was apprenticed to a wool-merchant of Florence, but, instead of going to work, spent his time in watching the artists in Cimabue's shop; upon which Bondone applied to the great master, who consented to teach the boy painting. The natural vivacity and intelligence of the young student soon made him as great a favourite in Cimabue's workshop as in his native village, while his extraordinary aptitude for drawing became every day more apparent. The legends of his marvellous skill, the stories of the fly that Cimabue vainly tried to brush off his picture, of the round O which he drew before the Pope's envoy with one sweep of his pencil, are proofs of the wonder and admiration which Giotto's first attempts to follow nature more closely excited among his contemporaries. No doubt the boldness and originality of his genius soon led him to abandon the purely conventional style of art then in use, and to seek after a more natural and lifelike form of expression. And early in his career he was probably influenced by the example of the sculptor Giovanni Pisano, whose fiery energy and strong dramatic sense were tending in the same direction, and who was actively engaged on his great works in Tuscany and Umbria at this time.

The earliest examples of Giotto's style that remain to us are some small panels at Munich, in which the

Last Judgment, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and several scenes from the Passion are represented, as well as a Crucifixion and Madonna in which we see his first attempts at rendering natural gesture and expression. We find the qualities in a still higher degree in another charming little panel, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, which was long in England, and is now in Mrs. Gardner's collection at Boston. A larger and better known work is the Madonna and Angels, in the Academy at Florence, which, although decidedly archaic in type and proportion, has a vigour and reality, a human life and warmth, that is wholly wanting in Cimabue's Madonna in the same room. The two pictures, hanging as they do side by side, afford a living proof of the truth of Dante's famous lines: "*Credette Cimabue nella pintura, Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido.*" But it is to Assisi that we must turn for a fuller record of the great master's training and development.

Here, in the old Umbrian city where St. Francis had lived and died, was the great double church which the alms of Christendom had raised above his burial-place. In 1228, two years only after the beloved teacher's death, the work was begun; first the Lower Church, with the massive pillars, low round arches and heavy vaulting that told the mediæval Christian of his pilgrimage through this vale of tears; then, a few years later, the Upper Church, with lofty Gothic arches, slender shafts and jewelled windows, radiant and luminous like some vision of the New Jerusalem. The architect of this noble building, in which Tuscan, Romanesque and Tuscan-Gothic are so happily com-

bined, is now known to have been a Lombard friar, Fra Filippo di Campello, and so speedily was his work done, that by 1239 the lofty Campanile was finished and the bells were hung. Even before the consecration of the Upper Church, Tuscan painters were employed to decorate the walls of the Lower Church with frescoes, and thus the shrine of St. Francis became the cradle of early Italian art. All the different currents of thought from East and West, all the varied elements that were to influence the art of Giotto—Greek and Roman, Gothic and Byzantine—seem to meet in this sacred spot, this fortunate Assisi of which Dante sang as blessed above all the other cities in Italy. Here, among the ruined paintings which still adorn the walls of the Upper Church, we find traces of the works of those Greek artists, whom Vasari mentions, side by side with frescoes which plainly reveal their Roman origin. Many of the Old Testament subjects along the upper course of the nave bear a marked likeness to the contemporary mosaics executed in S. Maria Maggiore of Rome, and justify Crowe and Cavalcaselle's suggestion, that one of the artists employed at Assisi may have been the same Filippo Rusutti whose signature appears on some of these frescoes. Unfortunately the records of the Franciscan convent are silent as to the painters of the frescoes which cover the walls of the great church, and while we are told the names of the carpenters and masons who were employed, and the exact date of the year and month when the leading of the windows or plaster of the walls was repaired, neither Cimabue nor Giotto are once mentioned. But Ghiberti, Vasari and the

later Franciscan historian, Petrus Rudolphus, all agree in saying that Giotto came to Assisi with his master Cimabue, and there painted the lower course of frescoes in the nave of the Upper Church. Here for the first time we have twenty-eight scenes from the story of St. Francis, the *glorioso poverell' di Dio*, as described in the life of the Saint by Bonaventura. That story belonged to no remote past, but to the painter's own age and land. The life of Francis had been lived in this very city of Assisi, in the valley of Tiber. The man of God had walked up and down these white, dusty streets, and had gone in and out among the people, sharing their daily joys and cares, feeding the hungry and nursing the sick. The different actors in the story, the angry father who turned his son out into the street, the thirsty peasant for whom water gushed from the rock, Brother Leo and Brother Elias, Chiara and her sisters, had not so long ago been living men and women, filled with the hopes and fears, the passions and emotions of other human beings. Here then, ready to the artist's hand, was a whole cycle of legend which had not yet been stamped with the seal of tradition, but was free to be shaped according to his own fancy —a series full of picturesque incident and dramatic situations, that lent itself admirably to artistic representation. The opportunity was a splendid one, and the right man was not long wanting. At this fortunate hour the young Giotto came to Assisi, and a new day dawned for the art of Italy.

These frescoes of the life of St. Francis which the young Florentine painted along the nave of the Upper Church, supplied the type for all future repre-

sentations, and were repeated with little variation by Tuscan artists during the next two centuries. They reveal in a wonderful way the vigour of his youthful genius, his strong dramatic sense and sympathy with every form of human life. Each separate scene is realised in the same vivid manner: the parting from the angry father, at whose feet Francis lays down his clothes, while the Bishop casts his cloak over him, and the bystanders look on with evident compassion on their faces; the solemn moment in which Francis and his poor companions kneel before the great Pope Innocent III. and receive his permission to preach; or the ordeal before the Soldan, when the bare-footed friar boldly enters the flames, while the magicians shrink back in terror at the sight. The sudden death of the Lord of Celano, while he is in the act of entertaining the Saint, is represented in the most striking manner, and the different phases of grief and horror are vividly painted on the faces of the women and attendants who crowd round the dying man, and in the gesture of Francis himself as he rises from the hospitable board. But finest of all is the touching scene in which the funeral procession passes before the convent of S. Damiano, and Chiara bends in an agony of love and grief over the lifeless form of her beloved master, while her companions kiss the stigmatized hand, and the people gaze with reverent awe and sorrow on the face of the dead Saint in his last sleep. Already in these youthful works we see traces of the shrewd sense of humour, the genial sympathy with the lighter side of things, that was so marked a characteristic of the great Florentine. It must have

needed some courage to introduce on church walls such incidents as the children throwing stones at the rejected Saint, or the friar climbing into a tree to enjoy a better view of the procession. Very interesting are the details and accessories of the separate subjects, irreparably ruined and re-painted as they are. The figures stand out in solid relief against the background, the gestures of the different actors are natural and animated, and the draperies fall in single, easy folds. Ignorant as Giotto was alike of the laws of anatomy and perspective, his instinctive feeling for form and accurate observation enabled him to give an appearance of reality both to his figures and buildings; while his genius for architecture is seen in the noble Gothic façades and towers which he introduces in several pictures. The classical forms which he combines with these Gothic motives and the inlaid marble decorations and mosaics which adorn porticoes and loggias are evidently borrowed from the artists of the Cosmati school, and prove how much he had learnt from the Roman painters whom he met at Assisi. The general conception and design of these frescoes is probably wholly owing to Giotto, but it is plain that several hands were employed upon the work, and the last three subjects, representing the miracles wrought by St. Francis after death, were evidently the work of some clever assistant, who was employed by the Friars to complete the series after the Florentine master had been called away.

In 1298, Giotto was invited to Rome by Cardinal Stefaneschi, the Pope's nephew, who had, no doubt, heard of Cimabue's able scholar from Rusutti, or some

other Roman artist working at Assisi. Another member of this prelate's family had already employed Roman masters to execute the mosaics in S. Maria Trastevere, and now at his bidding Giotto designed the famous mosaic of the Navicella, or ship of the Church, which hangs in the vestibule of St. Peter's. Little trace of the original work now remains, but the portrait of the Cardinal is introduced in the corner; and in the fisherman angling in the lake we see a characteristic touch of Giotto's invention. Far more worthy of study is the altar-piece which Giotto painted for the Cardinal, and which is still preserved in the Canons' Sacristy. This fine tempera-painting has fortunately escaped restoration, and deserves the high praise bestowed upon it by Vasari. In the central panel Christ, robed in a richly embroidered mantle, is seen seated on a throne, surrounded by angels, and worshipped by the kneeling Cardinal, a man of fifty years, clad in blue draperies and red cape. On either side are the Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the reverse of the panels Stefaneschi appears again, led by his patron, St. George, kneeling at the feet of St. Peter enthroned between St. Andrew and St. John, and attended by angels and glorified saints. The colour is fine, the design rich and imposing, and the attitude and expression of the Cardinal, clasping the bar of the throne, are full of reverent devotion. The presence of the donor in the courts of heaven was in itself an innovation which no artist before Giotto had attempted, and the human and individual character of the Cardinal's head contrasts finely with the more conventional types of the celestial beings. Giotto's original genius

is still more evident in the varied groups around the cross upon which St. Peter hangs. Soldiers on foot and horseback stand on either side, a young woman and her child look on with deep compassion, and a youth flinging his arms back in a manner plainly borrowed from some antique bas-relief, recalls similar types in Giotto's frescoes at Assisi and Padua. Certain figures among the spectators in quaint Mongolian costumes remind us that the Franciscan friars, following their founder's example, had penetrated far into Central Asia on their missions, and suggest that these strangers may have belonged to the immense concourse of pilgrims who thronged the streets of Rome in the year of Jubilee. A frenzy of religious ardour had seized upon the whole of Christendom, and marvellous are the tales told of the multitudes who crowded the churches, and of the piles of gold and silver that were raised up night and day before the altars. Among the fragments of the predella formerly attached to this altar-piece is a Madonna, whose fine proportions and gracious tenderness show a distinct advance on Giotto's earlier pictures, while the Babe in her arms is sucking his thumb in the most natural manner.

Pope Boniface, we are told by Vasari, was deeply impressed by Giotto's merits, and loaded him with honours and rewards; but the colossal Angel above the organ, and the other frescoes which the artist was employed to paint in the old basilica of St. Peter's, all perished long ago, and the only other work of his now remaining in Rome is the damaged fresco of the Pope proclaiming the Jubilee, on a pillar of the Lateran Church. This last painting proves that

Giotto was in Rome during this famous year 1300, when both his fellow-citizens Dante and the historian Giovanni Villani were present in the Eternal City. The divine poet, who places his great vision of heaven and hell in that memorable year, was an intimate friend of the painter—*coetaneo e amico grandissimo*, says Vasari—and, after his return to Florence, Giotto introduced Dante's portrait, robed in red and holding his book in his hand, in an altar-piece of Paradise which he painted for the chapel of the *Podestà* palace. But since this chapel was burnt down in 1332, and only rebuilt after Giotto's death, the fresco of Dante on the walls of the present building, which was discovered some years ago, must have been copied by one of his followers from the original painting.

It was probably on his journey back to Florence, or on some other visit to Assisi during the next few years, that Giotto painted his frescoes in the Lower Church. Chief among these are the four great allegories on the vaulted roof immediately above the high altar, under which the ashes of the Saint were laid. Here, in the Holy of Holies, the young Florentine master was employed by the Franciscans of Assisi to illustrate the meaning of the three monastic virtues, Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty, whom, according to the legend of the *Fioretti*, the Saint met walking on the road to Siena in the form of three fair maidens, and whom he held up to his followers as the sum of evangelical perfection. Nowhere is Giotto's creative power more finely displayed than in these subjects, where he has succeeded in animating the frigid conceits of mediæval allegory with human life and

warmth. Nowhere is his colouring so lovely, so full of actual charm and delicate gradation of tint. And when, towards sunset, the evening light streams through the narrow windows in the massive walls of the apse and illumines the ancient church, it is almost impossible to believe that these frescoes, glowing with pure and radiant hues, were really painted six hundred years ago. Most fortunately, these priceless works have been preserved from damp by the floor of the Upper Church above, and have never been ruined by re-painting, as the frescoes of the Arena Chapel and Santa Croce. So that here we can form some idea of Giotto's gifts as a colourist, and can understand the amazement with which his contemporaries saw the wonders wrought by his brush.

From the first, Giotto adopted a clear pale tone of colouring, which forms a marked contrast to the dark and heavy tints in use among Byzantine artists, and produces the effect of water-colour, while that of the older painters more nearly resembles oils. The technique which he used, both for tempera and fresco-painting, and which remained in use among Florentine artists for the next hundred-and-fifty years, was in reality founded on the old Greek method which had been practised during many centuries, although the improvements which he introduced were sufficient to justify the Giottesque artist Cennino Cennini in saying, that Giotto changed painting from the Greek to the Latin manner and brought in modern art. Yet more striking were the innovations which he introduced in his types, the almond-shaped eyes, long noses and oval countenances with square, heavy jaws which he substituted for the staring eyes and round

faces of Byzantine artists. The few and simple lines of his draperies give a majestic effect to his figures, and at the same time sufficiently indicate the structure of the human form beneath; so that in spite of his ignorance of anatomy and modelling, the result is remarkably good. Above all, he realises in a marvellous manner the full significance of the story which he has to tell, and succeeds in making its meaning clear to the spectator, notwithstanding the limitations of his skill. The types which he selects, and the grouping and gestures of the actors in the scene, all carry out the central idea, and help to complete the picture. These leading characteristics are clearly seen in the allegories on the roof of the Lower Church. They mark a distinct advance on the earlier frescoes of the Upper Church, and stand midway between the Stefaneschi altar-piece on the one hand and the Arena frescoes at Padua. Obedience, the primary monastic virtue, is here represented as a winged figure sitting under a loggia between Prudence and Humility, in the act of laying a yoke on the neck of the friar who kneels before her. On one side a centaur, the symbol of revolt and crime, recoils, blinded by the mirror of Prudence, and on the other side a devout layman and his wife are led by an angel to contemplate the scene. On the roof of the loggia, Francis himself is seen drawn up to Heaven by the knotted cord of his habit, between kneeling angels who wonder and adore. Chastity appears as a maiden, praying within a fortress, guarded by Courage and Purity and attended by angels, who offer her the crown and palm of victory. In the foreground, Francis receives a friar, nun and lay-brother, who as repre-

sentatives of the three Orders are climbing the hill, with a gracious welcome. On the right, a novice is baptised by angel's hands, and the penitent is defended by warrior maidens; while Repentance, armed with a scourge, drives out carnal Desire, and Death hurls the naked form of Passion into hell-flames. In the third compartment we have the Marriage of St. Francis with Holy Poverty, the bride of his choice, that memorable scene which, originally described by Bonaventura and the Franciscan poet Jacopone, has been celebrated in a famous passage of Dante's *Paradiso*. Giotto himself was no religious enthusiast, and his shrewd worldly sense and genial humour led him to look with little sympathy upon the voluntary poverty which Francis held to be the crown of all virtues. But in this beautiful fresco he has entered fully into the spirit of glowing devotion which animated the Saint, and has left us a representation of the subject worthy to rank with Dante's immortal lines. The wedding takes place in the courts of Heaven, Love and Hope are the bridesmaids, Christ Himself the priest who speaks the nuptial blessing. The bride's robe is torn and ragged, the boys throw stones and the little dogs bark at her, but the thorns that tear her bare feet, blossom into roses about her brow, and the face of Francis beams with love and rapture, as he places the ring upon her finger. In the foreground we have practical illustrations of the parable. On the left, an angel smiles approval on a young man in the act of giving his cloak to a beggar; on the right, another richly-clad youth with a falcon on his wrist turns scornfully away, and a miser clutches his bags of gold more tightly between his hands. In the air

above, angels are seen bearing the gifts of pious donors—a mantle, a purse and a convent-church—into heaven, where God the Father bends down with outstretched hands to receive them. Finally, in the fourth compartment we have a vision of St. Francis, clad in the deacon's garb which he retained in his humility to the end of his life, enthroned in glory and attended by choirs of rejoicing angels.

These allegories are not the only works which Giotto executed in the Lower Church of Assisi. Ghiberti's statement, that the Florentine master painted almost the whole of the Lower Church, is confirmed by Petrus Rudolphus, who expressly mentions the frescoes of the Childhood and Crucifixion in the right transept as being by the hand of Giotto. In their present ruined condition it is not easy to distinguish between the work of the master and that of his assistants; but the whole series bears the stamp of Giotto's invention, and in many cases the composition foreshadows that of the Arena frescoes at Padua. The scenes of the Childhood are full of human charm and tenderness—the Babe laying his little hand in blessing on the aged king's head, and the young Mother wrapping the Child in the folds of her mantle, as she rides the ass and Joseph leads the way with pilgrim staff and bottle in his hand, are touches which no one but Giotto would have introduced. Even when, as in the Passion scenes, the old types are more closely followed, a deeper note is sounded. The Pietà resembles that of the Roman master in the Upper Church, but is more dramatic in character; while in the Crucifixion, the passionate grief of St. John, the overwhelming sorrow of the

fainting Virgin, the wild despair of the angels who hover in the air, mark a great advance on Cimabue's crude realism, and St. Francis himself is introduced among the saints who stand at the foot of the cross.

The next important series which Giotto painted were the frescoes in the Arena Chapel at Padua. In 1303, Enrico Scrovegno, a noble citizen of Padua, son of the wealthy usurer Rinaldo, whom Dante places in his *Inferno*, spent part of his father's ill-gotten fortune in building a chapel dedicated to the Annunziata, on the site of a Roman amphitheatre. Two years later Giotto was invited to decorate the interior with frescoes. Benvenuto da Imola, writing in 1376, tells us that when Dante visited Padua, in 1306, he found his friend Giotto living there with his wife, Madonna Ciutà, of the parish of Santa Reparata of Florence, and his young family, and was honourably entertained by the painter in his own house. Giotto, adds the writer, was then still young—he must have been exactly thirty years of age—and was engaged in painting a chapel on the site of an ancient Arena. Here the poet often watched him at work, with his children, who were "as ill-favoured as himself," playing around, and wondered how it was that the creations of his brain were so much fairer than his own offspring. Giotto's small stature and insignificant appearance seem to have been constantly the subject of his friends' good-humoured jests, and Petrarch and Boccaccio both speak of him as an instance of rare genius being concealed under a plain and ungainly exterior. "Two excellent painters I have known," writes Petrarch, "who were neither of them handsome —Giotto of Florence, whose fame is supreme among

modern artists, and Simone Martini." But in Giotto's case this unattractive appearance was redeemed by a kindly and joyous nature, a keen sense of humour, and unfailing cheerfulness, which made him the gayest and most pleasant companion. And Giotto, on his part, Vasari tells us, was deeply attached to the exiled poet, and may well have availed himself of Dante's ideas and suggestions in the great work upon which he was engaged, especially in the allegorical figures of Virtues and Vices, along the lower course of the chapel walls.

"The whole of the Arena Chapel," says Ghiberti, "was painted by the hand of Giotto." This statement has never been disputed, and, with the exception of the frescoes in the choir, which were added by his followers in later years, the decoration of the interior is entirely his work. The shape of the building, with its long, low nave, lighted by six narrow windows, was well adapted to fresco-painting, and even now, in spite of the havoc worked by the restorer's hand, the whole effect is singularly bright and decorative. The vaulted roof is studded with gold stars on a blue ground, and adorned with medallions of Christ and his Mother, and of the Apostles and Prophets who foretold his coming. A vision of Christ in glory occupies the space above the arch leading into the choir, and on the entrance wall is the Last Judgment, with a portrait of the founder, Enrico Scrovegno, holding a model of the chapel in his hands, welcomed by three fair and gracious angels. There, too, in the left-hand corner, among the hosts of the blessed, is a profile portrait of the painter himself, standing between two companions, in a red cap and vest. Along the

side walls are three rows of frescoes, divided by an ornamental framework, painted in imitation of marble mosaics, representing thirty-eight scenes from the life of the Virgin and of Christ. Below these are fourteen allegorical figures, which illustrate the progress of man on the way to heaven and hell, the seven Virtues looking at Christ in glory, on the eastern arch, and the seven Vices on the opposite wall, turning their faces towards the Inferno pictured on the western wall.

The first twelve subjects are taken from the apocryphal gospels known as the Protevangelion, or Gospel of St. Mary. In most cases the traditional composition is retained, but new actors are introduced whose gestures and expression add fresh meaning and reality to the scene, and the whole is brought before us in a new and original manner. Giotto's familiarity with shepherd-life is evident in the early scenes, in the truth with which the weather-beaten faces and rough clothes of the herdsmen are rendered, in the rams butting each other with their horns, and the faithful sheep-dog who hastens to greet his master, when the childless Joachim returns, plunged in sad thought, after the rejection of his offering. The poor cottage home, where the Angel appears at the window to Anna, is represented with the same accuracy. We see the rude oak chest, the wooden trestles, the striped coverlid and white hanging of the bed, and the maid-servant busy at her spinning in the passage outside. The same homely details are reproduced in the Birth of the Virgin, where the nurse washes the babe with the utmost care, and the mother sits up in bed with outstretched

arms to receive it, while the eager women around are intent on their various tasks. The greeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate is full of solemn tenderness; and we have another charming group in the aged high priest bending down to welcome the shy little Virgin, who mounts the Temple stairs, supported by her anxious mother. The Marriage of the Virgin follows the traditional lines; but we see Giotto's invention in the action of the disappointed suitor breaking his rod across his knee, and the dove which has settled on Joseph's flowering rod. This is followed by a subject of rare beauty, and one which is seldom seen in Italian art—the Return of the Virgin to her father's house, escorted by musicians, and followed by a procession of maidens. Giotto himself has not often succeeded in rendering action as naturally as this of the trumpeters and violinists sounding their instruments under the Gothic balcony, decorated with green boughs, and has seldom given us a form as classic in its serene repose, or faces as fair in their youthful loveliness as these of Mary and her seven virgins.

The Annunciation, which, as a type of the Incarnation, that central truth of Christendom, occupies the space on either side of the arch where Christ appears in glory, is remarkable for the severe and stately grace of the Angel and of her whom he calls blessed among women. Both are kneeling, and Gabriel's uplifted hand and dignified gesture contrast finely with the folded arms and attentive humility with which Mary receives his salutation. In the Nativity we are reminded of the divine nature of the event by the flight of angels who circle in the

air above the stable roof. Three seraphs gaze heavenwards in adoration, while one stoops down to worship the new-born King, and another bears the good tidings of great joy to the shepherds, who hasten to the chamber where the Virgin-Mother lies. At the same time, the human aspect of the Incarnation is brought out in the action of Mary as she turns round in bed to lay the Babe down, and in the Child's efforts to escape from the arms of Simeon and get back to his mother, in the Temple scene. Nor has any later artist surpassed the tender expressive sympathy on the face of the aged Elizabeth, as she looks up into Mary's eyes and sees in her the mother of her Lord.

Only two incidents from the ministry of Christ find a place on these chapel walls, but these two—the Marriage in Cana and the Raising of Lazarus—are treated with especial attention, and are among the finest of the whole series. The marriage-feast takes place in a hall decorated with marble mosaic, and a row of classic *amphoræ* stand in front of the table, where a fat man tosses off a cup of wine with evident enjoyment, and the uplifted finger of the Virgin bears witness to the power of a heavenly presence at the festive board. The Raising of Lazarus shows a marked improvement on Giotto's former version of the subject at Assisi. The form of Christ as he pronounces the solemn words, "Lazarus, come forth," is singularly imposing, while Mary and Martha kneel in lowly adoration, and the bystanders gaze in awe and wonder at the dead man, bound in grave-clothes, staggering to his feet. The painter's gain in dramatic power, and his mastery of the laws of composition, are still more evident in the

closing scenes of Christ's life upon earth. All the grief and sorrow of the world seem gathered up in this great Pietà, where the Virgin bends over her Son in a last embrace, and St. John throws back his arms in despair, while angels hide their eyes and rend the air with their wailing voices. In the Resurrection Giotto has combined two subjects. On one side we have the white-robed Angels seated on the red porphyry tomb, with the soldiers, sunk in deep slumber, at their feet. On the other, the risen Lord, bearing the flag of victory in his hand, is in the act of uttering the words "*Noli me tangere*" to the Magdalen, who, wrapt in her crimson mantle, falls at his feet, exclaiming, "*Rabboni!*"—Master. No artist before Giotto had ever tried to represent this touching incident, and no master of later times ever painted so touching and beautiful a Magdalen as this one with the yearning eyes and the passion of love and rapture in her outstretched arms. And while the trees behind the sepulchre are bare and withered, here the fig and olive of the garden have burst into leaf, and the little birds carol on the grassy slopes. "The winter is past, the rain over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come." The Ascension is more formal in arrangement; two choirs of seraphs in the sky correspond with two groups of disciples kneeling on the ground, while between them are two white-robed angels, pointing upwards as they repeat the heavenly message. But Giotto's power of expression is nobly seen in the upturned face of the Virgin-Mother, who, strong in faith and love, follows her Son with straining eyes; and there is a wonderful sense of movement

in the form of the Ascending Lord, borne upwards by some unseen might into the heavens, which open to receive him.

When we look back on the whole series, perhaps what strikes us most is the simplicity and directness with which the story is told. Not a single superfluous actor is introduced. Each has his part to play in the development of the situation. Each line is charged with purpose, each gesture and attitude is significant. Especially noteworthy is the action of the hands, which are as expressive and characteristic in Giotto's works as in those of another great Florentine of a later age, Leonardo da Vinci. The setting of the picture is of the simplest description. The gold background of Byzantine masters has given place to blue sky — now, alas! coarsely repainted —and both landscape and architecture are slight and summary in treatment. The hill-country of Bethlehem is indicated by a few green slopes and trees, and the dramatic effect of the Baptism and Entombment is heightened by the bare and desolate rocks of the landscape. A house is represented by a wooden roof resting on a couple of slender pillars, and an open loggia with pointed arches. A ciborium, with a flight of steps and marble screen, does duty for the temple. Here and there, as in the Annunciation or Expulsion from the Temple, the architectural details are more elaborate, and, as at Assisi, Gothic and classical motives are frequently introduced in the same building. The animals are, for the most part, curiously ill-drawn and out of proportion, and were probably the work of an assistant. Flat tints are employed throughout, and there is little attempt at

modelling; but the broad masses of light and shade, and the large sweep of the draperies, produce a striking unity of effect, and all serve to heighten the impression of monumental grandeur and repose which these frescoes leave upon us.

Fortunately, the chiaroscuro frieze of Vices and Virtues, beneath the historical subjects, have mostly escaped restoration, and there at least it is still possible to find some remains of Giotto's brushwork. These allegorical figures are of singular charm and interest. Whether the painter adopts the traditional type or invents a new parable, the idea is carefully thought out in every particular, and the details and accessories all help to carry out his intention. Each Virtue is contrasted with its opposite Vice. Charity, wreathed in flowers, and holding a basket of fruit in one hand, offers a burning torch to her Lord, while she tramples money-bags under her feet. Envy, on the opposite wall, grasps a purse in her claws, and is bitten by a serpent issuing out of her own mouth. Faith, a crowned and majestic form, clings to the Cross with one hand, and holds the roll of the Creed in the other, careless of the astrologer's books lying on the floor. Unbelief, turning a deaf ear to heavenly voices, is led by the idol to which she is chained along the broad way of destruction. Temperance is a beautiful figure robed in classic draperies, with a bridle on her lips and her sword bound to the scabbard; while Anger, an ugly old hag, tears open her vest in impotent rage. Justice, another royal form, sits throned under a Gothic canopy, holding a pair of scales which contain the one a statuette of an angel reaching out a crown of

righteousness to the just, the other, an executioner in the act of slaying the criminal, and the pediment of her throne is adorned with a frieze of happy children dancing and of huntsmen returning from the chase, symbolic of the peace and prosperity which flourish under her rule. Injustice is a hideous fiend seated in a robber's stronghold, with a sword in one hand and a grappling-hook in the other, to catch the innocent traveller as he journeys on his way, while figures of thieves and murderers are carved on the rocks at her feet. Fortitude appears in the guise of an armed woman, wearing a lion's skin knotted round her neck, and bearing a massive shield embossed with a lion and deeply indented with broken heads of javelins. Inconstancy is a maiden wearing a veil, blown to and fro by the wind, and vainly trying to support herself against a rolling globe on a slippery marble floor. Prudence is a grave matron with the double face of Janus, sitting at a desk and holding a mirror in her hand. Folly, wearing a cap of feathers and a bird's tail fastened to his skirts, looks up with a grin on his face at the club with which he is about to strike the air at random. Last of all, Hope, fairest and best of all the Virtues, stands on the threshold of Paradise, and springs forward to reach a crown held out by unseen hands, while Despair, the blackest of crimes, is dragged by devils down to hell-fires. Thus, in the same age, these two great Florentines, Giotto and Dante, gave utterance to their thoughts, the one in poetry, the other in painting, and clothed their conceptions in the favourite language of mediæval times.

The fame which Giotto already enjoyed beyond the

walls of Florence was greatly increased by these works. Before he left Padua he was employed to decorate the palace of Francesco di Carrara, and to paint scenes from the life of St. Francis and St. Anthony in the Chapter-house of the newly-built church of "Il Santo," which bade fair to rival S. Francesco of Assisi in splendour and popularity. From Padua, Vasari tells us, the Florentine master went on to the neighbouring city of Verona, where he painted the portrait of Dante's noble friend and protector, Can Grande della Scala, as well as other works in the Franciscan church, and then proceeded to Ferrara and Ravenna at the invitation of the Este and Polenta princes. His visit to the court of the Malatesta at Rimini must also have been paid about this time, since the Ferrarese chronicler Riccobaldi, who died in 1313, speaks of the works painted "by that admirable Florentine master, Giotto, in the churches of the Brothers Minor at Assisi, Rimini and Padua." All of these works in the cities of North Italy have perished, and it is to Florence that we must turn for the third and last remaining cycle of his frescoes. The great Franciscan church of Santa Croce had been raised from Arnolfo's designs in the last years of the thirteenth century, and the proudest Florentine families hastened to build chapels at their own expense, as a mark of their devotion to the popular Saint. Four of these chapels were decorated with frescoes by Giotto's hand, but were all whitewashed in 1714, when Santa Croce underwent a thorough restoration. The frescoes of the lives of the Apostles, and the story of the Virgin, which he painted in the Giugni and Spinelli

chapels, and which Vasari praises as miracles of art, have been entirely destroyed; but within the last fifty years the whitewash has been successfully removed from the walls of the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels, and the finest of Giotto's works that remain to us have been brought to light. Here, in a series painted when his genius had reached its full development, we are enabled to judge of his progress and realise the great advance which his art had made since the early days at Assisi. In dramatic power, in truth and energy of action, in beauty of form and variety of expression, these frescoes in Santa Croce surpass all Giotto's other works. The figures are larger and better drawn, the draperies are treated with greater breadth and freedom, the architecture is more elaborate and the perspective singularly correct. Where the restorer's hand has not entirely destroyed its surface, the colouring is more varied and harmonious, finer effects of light and shade and deeper gradations of tint are visible. Above all, it is here that Giotto's unrivalled powers as a great epic painter are revealed, and that we realise his intimate knowledge of human nature, and his profound sympathy with every form of life.

The Peruzzi chapel contains three scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist. In the first, the aged Zacharias stands on the temple steps swinging a censer in his hand, and starts back in surprise at the sight of the angel who has suddenly appeared under the arch over the altar. In the background, Elizabeth and a younger companion at her side behold the apparition with wondering eyes, and two lute players and a piper blowing with all his might are also

present. In the next composition we have the Birth of the Baptist. Elizabeth, whose reclining attitude is admirably given, lies on the bed, attended by her maidens, and in the next room Zacharias is seated with crossed legs, writing the child's name upon the tablet on his knees, and gazing at the laughing babe held up before him by the women, who look eagerly at the word which he has written. In the third scene, Herod and his guests are seated at table under a stately portico adorned with antique statues, watching Salome, who with a lyre in her hand has been dancing before them to the strains of violin music. But suddenly she pauses in her dance, and the women who have been watching her steps turn away in horror at the sight of the Baptist's head which a soldier, wearing a Roman helmet, is in the act of presenting to Herod. Through an open door Salome appears again, kneeling before her mother with the charger, and in the distance we see the barred window of the tower where the Baptist has been imprisoned. The central picture, with its classic architecture and ornamental details, and the graceful figures of Salome and the youth in his striped tunic playing the violin, is full of charm.

On the opposite wall we have three subjects from the life of St. John the Evangelist. First of all, the aged Saint is seen slumbering on the rock of Patmos, while the vision of the Son of Man appears in the clouds, attended by an angel bearing a sickle, and the woman with the mystic Child in the cradle. This fresco is too badly damaged to give any idea of Giotto's powers, but happily a considerable portion of the two others have escaped restoration, and are

among the finest of the series. One is the Raising of Drusiana, who is here seen sitting up on the bier at the bidding of the Evangelist—a noble figure with uplifted arm—before the mourners. Both the heads of Drusiana and of St. John are admirably modelled, the towers and walls in the background are in excellent perspective, and there for the first time we see a really successful attempt at chiaroscuro. The other is the Ascension of St. John, who is represented soaring up into the heavens, where Christ bends down to welcome him, while his disciples stand round the empty grave, lost in wonder and perplexity.

The frescoes of the second chapel were ordered by a famous Florentine captain, Ridolfo de' Bardi, whose son had joined the Franciscan Order, and represent six different scenes from the life of Francis. In these subjects—which were to become the model for Tuscan and Umbrian artists during the next two centuries—Giotto refines and simplifies the composition of his earlier works at Assisi, and treats his theme in a grander and more heroic manner. The Saint's encounter with his angry father is more dramatically represented, Francis himself is a youthful and attractive figure, and in the background a stately loggia rises against the blue sky. After this we have the Confirmation of the Rule, by Pope Innocent III., and the Apparition of the Saint in a church at Arles, where St. Anthony is preaching on the Passion. In the last fresco two incidents are combined: the Apparition of Francis at the moment of his death to Bishop Guido at Monte Gargano, and to a dying friar in his cell at Assisi. But the most striking compositions are those of Francis before the Soldan and

the Death of the Saint. The imposing form of the Soldan on his throne, under a portico adorned with mosaics and statues, the white turbans and flowing robes of the Moorish priests, the contrast between the ecstatic joy on the face of Francis, as he enters the flames, and the horror and terror, not only of the Magi, but of the poor friar who cowers behind, all help to make up a picturesque and animated scene. We remember how finely Giotto represented the Saint's death in his early days at Assisi. Here the touching incident is still more simply brought before us. There is no crowd of curious spectators—even Chiara and her nuns are absent. All we have is the great Saint lying dead on his funeral bier, surrounded by weeping friars, who bend over their beloved master and cover his hands and feet with kisses. At the head of the bier a priest reads the funeral rite; three brothers stand at the foot bearing a cross and banner, and the incredulous Girolamo puts his finger into the stigmatised side, while his companions gaze on the sacred wounds with varying expressions of awe and wonder, and one, the smallest and humblest of the group, suddenly lifts his eyes and sees the soul of Francis borne on angel-wings to Heaven. Even the hard outlines and coarse handling of the restorer's brush cannot destroy the beauty and pathos of this scene, which still remains without a rival in Florentine art. In later ages more accomplished artists often repeated this composition — Benedetto da Majano carved the subject on the pulpit of Santa Croce, and Ghirlandajo painted it on the walls of the Trinità—but none ever attained to the simple dignity and pathetic beauty of Giotto's design.

DEATH OF ST. FRANCIS (SANTA CROCE)—GIOTTO.

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The exact date of these frescoes remains uncertain, but they were probably painted soon after 1320. Recent research has as yet thrown little light upon the chronology of Giotto's life, and all we can discover is an occasional notice of the works which he executed, or of the property which he owned in Florence. Vasari's statement, that he succeeded to Cimabue's house and shop in the Via del Cocomero, to the north of the Duomo, is borne out by the will of the Florentine citizen Rinuccio, who, dying in 1312, describes the excellent painter Giotto di Bondone as a parishioner of Santa Maria Novella, and bequeathes a sum of "five pounds of small florins" to keep a lamp burning night and day before the crucifix painted by the said master, in the Dominican church. Of Giotto's eight children, the eldest, Francesco, became a painter, and received commissions as early as 1319. When his father was absent from Florence he managed the small property which Giotto had inherited at his old home of Vespignano in Val Mugello, and which he increased by purchases of land and houses. The painter's family seem to have lived chiefly at this country home, where his daughters Chiara and Lucia married burghers of Vespignano, and one son, a second Francesco, became a parish priest. The eldest sister Caterina became the wife of an artist, Ricco di Lapo, and the youngest, Beatrice, belonged to the Third Order of Dominic, and married soon after her father's death. Giotto himself was fond of his country home, and contemporary writers give us pleasant glimpses of the great master's excursions to Val Mugello. Boccaccio tells us how one day, as he and the learned advocate Messer Forese, who, like himself,

was short and insignificant in appearance, were riding out to Vespignano, they were caught in a shower of rain, and forced to borrow cloaks and hats from the peasants. "Well, Giotto," said the lawyer, as they trotted back to Florence, clad in these old clothes and bespattered with mud from head to foot, "if a stranger were to meet you now, would he ever suppose that you were the first painter in Florence?" "Certainly he would," was Giotto's prompt reply, "if beholding your worship he could imagine for a moment that you had learnt your A. B. C." And the novelist Sacchetti relates how the great master rode out to San Gallo one Sunday afternoon with a party of friends, after the manner of Florentine citizens, more for pleasure than devotion, and how they fell in with a herd of swine, one of whom ran between Giotto's legs and threw him down. "After all, the pigs are quite right," said the painter, as he scrambled to his feet and shook the dust off his clothes, "when I think how many thousands of crowns I have earned with their bristles, without ever giving them even a bowl of soup!" The same writer records how on another of these joyous Sunday expeditions Giotto stopped with his friends at the church of the Servi friars, to study the paintings on the walls. One of his companions remarked that St. Joseph was always represented as grave and melancholy, upon which Giotto replied, "Can you wonder, considering his relationship to the Child?" a repartee which seems to have afforded the company infinite amusement. These tales sound trivial in themselves, but are of interest as showing the deep impression left upon the great painter's contemporaries, not only by his talents, but

by his strong personality; while the ready wit and practical turn of mind which they reveal are exactly what the study of his works would lead us to expect. A more serious instance of his power of satire is to be found in the song against Voluntary Poverty bearing his name, which Rumohr discovered in the Laurentian library. In these verses Giotto not only denounces the vice and hypocrisy often working beneath the cloak of monastic perfection, but honestly expresses his own aversion to poverty as a thing miscalled a virtue, and enumerates all the evils of the grace which he was so often called to glorify in his paintings. He concludes by declaring that voluntary poverty is nowhere enjoined by our Lord, whose words apply to his own holy life, and who became poor that we might be saved from the curse of avarice, not that we may fall into idle unworthy ways of living. The whole *canzone* is of great interest, coming as it does from the pen of the chosen painter of the Franciscan Order, and showing the independence of Giotto's character.

The extraordinary industry of the man is shown by the long list of panel pictures as well as wall-paintings which are mentioned by early writers. These have fared even worse than Giotto's frescoes. The picture of the Commune crowned and throned and attended by all the virtues, in the great hall of the Podestà, which Vasari describes as of very beautiful and ingenious invention, the small tempera painting of the Death of the Virgin, on which Michael Angelo loved to gaze, in the church of Ognissanti, the Madonna which was sent to Petrarch at Avignon, and which he left as his most precious possession to his noble friend Francesco di Carrara, have all perished. One panel,

however, described by Vasari, is still in existence: the altar-piece of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata on the rocky heights of La Vernia, together with the three subjects of the predella—Pope Innocent's Dream of Francis supporting the falling pillars of the Church, the Confirmation of the Rule, and Francis preaching to the swallows. This interesting picture was originally painted for a church in Pisa, and now hangs in the Louvre. It bears the inscription, *Opus Jocti Fiorentini*, a signature which confirms Boccaccio's statement that Giotto always refused to bear the name of *Magister*. It is worthy of notice that in legal documents regarding the purchase of lands at Vespignano, which are still in existence, the master always employs the signature of *Giottus pictor*, while the Baroncelli altar-piece and other spurious works bear the forged inscription—*Opus Magistri Jocti*.

In 1330, Giotto was invited to Naples by King Robert, whose son Charles, Duke of Calabria, held the post of Captain of the people of Florence during two years, and who had employed Giotto to paint his portrait. This monarch, the friend and patron of Boccaccio and Petrarch, received Giotto with the highest honour, and issued a decree, in the following January, granting this chosen and faithful servant all the privileges enjoyed by members of the royal household. Ghiberti tells us that Giotto painted the hall of King Robert's palace, and Petrarch alludes in one of his epistles to the frescoes with which he adorned the royal Chapel of the Castello dell' Uovo "Do not fail," he writes, "to visit the royal Chapel where my contemporary, Giotto, the greatest painter of his age, has left such splendid monuments of his

pencil and genius." But all these works have been destroyed, and another series of frescoes on the Revelation of St. John, painted, Vasari tells us, *col pensiero di Dante*, which he executed in the newly-built Franciscan church of Santa Chiara, were white-washed in the last century, by order of a Spanish governor, who complained that they made the church too dark! King Robert appreciated the painter's company as much as his talent, and enjoyed the frankness of his speech and his ready jest. "Well, Giotto," he said, as he watched the artist at work one summer day, "if I were you, I would leave off painting while the weather is so hot." "So would I, were I King Robert," was Giotto's prompt reply. Another time the King asked him to introduce a symbol of his kingdom in a hall containing portraits of illustrious men, upon which Giotto without a word, painted a donkey wearing a saddle, embroidered with the royal crown and sceptre, pawing and sniffing at another saddle lying on the ground, bearing the same device. "Such are your subjects," explained the artist, with a sly allusion to the fickle temper of the Neapolitans. "Every day they seek a new master." In 1333, Giotto was still in Naples, and King Robert, it is said, promised to make him the first man in the realm, if he would remain at his court; but early in the following year he was summoned back to Florence by the Signory, and, on the 12th of April 1334, was appointed Chief Architect of the State and Master of the Cathedral Works. Since the death of Arnolfo, in 1310, the progress of the Duomo had languished, but now the Magistrates declared their intention of erecting a bell-tower which, in height

and beauty, should surpass all that the Greeks and Romans had accomplished in the days of their greatest pride. "For this purpose," the decree runs, "we have chosen Giotto di Bondone, painter, our great and dear master, since neither in the city nor in the whole world is there any other to be found as well fitted for this and similar tasks." Giotto lost no time in preparing designs for the beautiful Campanile which bears his name, and on the 8th of July the foundations of the new Tower were laid with great solemnity. Villani describes the imposing processions that were held, and the immense multitudes which attended the ceremony, and adds that the Superintendent of Works was Maestro Giotto, "our own citizen, the most sovereign master of painting in his time, and the one who drew figures, and represented action in the most life-like manner." Giotto received a salary of 100 golden florins from the State "for his excellence and goodness," and was strictly enjoined not to leave Florence again without the permission of the Signory. The contemporary chronicler Pucci describes the ceremony in verse, and adds that Giotto not only designed the Campanile, but also executed the first tier of bas-reliefs, a statement confirmed by Ghiberti, who says that Giotto, being a skilled sculptor, himself designed and carved the first story of reliefs on his own Tower. There seems to be little doubt that these noble sculptures, forming as they do a grand poem of the life of humanity and the progress of civilization, were originally designed by Giotto, but probably executed by his assistant, Andrea Pisano, to whom the building of the Campanile was entrusted after the

death of its founder. For, in 1335, Giotto again left Florence, by order of the Signory, at the urgent request of their ally, Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan. Here, in the old ducal palace on the Piazza of the Duomo, Giotto painted a series of frescoes, of which no trace remains, and then hurried back to Florence to resume his work on the Campanile. Another invitation reached him from Pope Benedict XII., who had heard of his fame from Petrarch, and offered him a large salary if he would take up his residence at the papal court at Avignon. But it was too late, and, as an old chronicler writes, "heaven willed that the royal city of Milan should gather the last fruits of this noble plant." Soon after his return Giotto fell suddenly ill, and died on the 8th of January 1337. He was buried with great honour in the Cathedral, and, by the devout care of his daughter Beatrice, masses were said for the repose of his soul in the parish church of his old home at Vespignano.

More than a hundred years later, when Florence had reached the height of splendour and prosperity under the rule of the Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent placed a marble bust on Giotto's tomb, and employed Angelo Poliziano to compose a Latin epitaph which gave proud utterance to the veneration in which the great master was held alike by his contemporaries and by posterity. "Lo, I am he by whom dead Painting was restored to life, to whose right hand all was possible, by whom Art became one with Nature. No one ever painted more or better. Do you wonder at yon fair Tower which holds the sacred bells? Know that it was I who bade her first rise towards

the stars. For I am Giotto—what need is there to tell of my work? Long as verse lives, my name shall endure!"

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—*Accademia delle belle Arti:* 103. Madonna and Child with Angels.
,, *Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel:* Frescoes—Lives of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. *Bardi Chapel:* Frescoes—Life of St. Francis.
Assisi.—*Upper Church:* Frescoes—Life of St. Francis.
,, *Lower Church:* Allegories of Obedience, Charity, Poverty and Glory of St. Francis.
,, *Lower Church, R. Transept:* Frescoes—Lives of Christ and the Virgin.
Bologna.—*Accademia delle belle Arti:* 101. Saints and Angels.
Padua.—*Arena Chapel:* Frescoes—Lives of Christ and the Virgin, Last Judgment, Vices and Virtues.
Rome.—*St. Peter's Sacristy:* Stefaneschi Altar-piece.
St. John Lateran: Fresco—Boniface VIII. Proclaiming the Jubilee, 1300.
Boston, U.S.A.—*Mrs Gardner.* Presentation in Temple.
Munich.—*Pinacothek:* 979 - 983. Small Panels. Madonna, Passion and Crucifixion, etc.
Paris.—*Louvre:* 1312. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

[1] These frescoes are now ascribed by Mr. Berenson, Professor Venturi, and other authorities to an assistant of Giotto, and not to the master himself.—("The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," by B. Berenson, p. 142. Third Edition, 1909.)

III

THE GIOTTESCHI

TADDEO GADDI—GIOVANNI DA MILANO—GIOTTINO —AGNOLO GADDI—CENNINO CENNINI—ANDREA ORCAGNA—ANDREA DA FIRENZE—ANTONIO VENEZIANO—SPINELLO ARETINO—LORENZO MONACO.

1330–1430

THE change which Giotto had wrought in art had been so great, the advance on all who had gone before him was so marvellous, that well-nigh two centuries were needed to work out the problems which he had solved as it were by instinct. In his hands Italian art became a genuine expression of national character, and so fully did he give utterance to the thoughts of his age, that for many years his followers had only to repeat his types or apply his principles to other subjects in order to find general acceptance. The result of Giotto's predominance in Trecento art is, that the personalities of different artists are all of them more or less absorbed in this one master, and that it becomes difficult to single out the characteristics of his individual followers. Instead of going straight to nature, as Giotto had done, they were content to copy his figures and imitate his compositions, until they too

sank into monotony and formality, and art seemed once more in danger of becoming purely conventional. Yet these Giottesque painters interest us by their earnestness and sincerity, their simple and naïve feeling. They are, as a rule, excellent illustrators, who can tell a story gracefully and add pleasing details to the picture, if they lack the convincing power and dramatic sense of their great master, and never succeed in producing the same vivid and life-like effect.

Political conditions may have had their share in the general stagnation from which art and letters both suffered in the fourteenth century. The great schemes of Pope Innocent III. for the Church's regeneration, the dream of brotherhood and religious equality which St. Francis had held up to his countrymen, had ended in failure and disappointment. Civil troubles in Rome led to the exile of the popes to Avignon, and the Babylonian Captivity, as this period of banishment was termed, did not come to an end until 1377. Florence was torn in twain by the perpetual warfare of contending factions, the wars with Pisa and the revolt of the Ciompi. In 1345, great misery was entailed on countless families by the colossal failure of the Peruzzi and Bardi houses, which was partly caused by our king Edward the Third's repudiation of a debt of more than a million of florins, advanced by these merchants for the expenses of his French wars. This calamity was followed by the famine of 1347 and the terrible plague of 1348, which carried off as many as 600 victims a day, and was reckoned to have destroyed three-fourths of the whole population. In these circumstances it is wonderful that painting should

have been as actively practised as it was in Florence during this period instead of dying out altogether.

As before, the chief patrons of art were the Mendicant Orders, and the centres of painting were the Franciscan church of Santa Croce and the Dominican foundation of Santa Maria Novella. The decoration of Santa Croce, begun by Giotto, was carried on by his favourite scholar and godson, Taddeo Gaddi, the son of Gaddo Gaddi, a distinguished mosaic-worker who was employed in the Baptistery and Church of San Miniato, and lived on friendly terms with his great contemporary. Born about 1300, Taddeo spent twenty-four years in Giotto's shop, and assisted his master in most of his later works. A careful and industrious artist, Taddeo followed Giotto's methods very closely, imitating his types and exaggerating his peculiarities. His best works, the frescoes of the Virgin's Life, in the Baroncelli Chapel of Santa Croce, were begun during Giotto's absence at Naples, and finished by 1338. Most of the subjects are taken from the Arena Chapel, and frequently we find that whole figures are borrowed from Giotto's compositions. The narrow eyes, long noses and faces are so much exaggerated as to become positively ugly; the drapery hangs in smaller and deeper folds; there is more variety in the costumes, and greater elaboration in the architecture and other accessories. But the want of structural form is painfully apparent in the figures, and the faces lack character and expression. In the Presentation of the Virgin, for instance, Taddeo places the high priest in a tall, many-arched loggia, elaborately decorated with reliefs and windows, but sadly out of perspective, and introduces

a number of spectators, amongst others a group of children, evidently copied from the boys who threw stones in the Allegory of Poverty at Assisi. The little Virgin is represented standing by herself on the steps of the Temple and turning round with outstretched arm, as if in the act of solemnly declaring her intentions to her parents. The unity of the picture is thus destroyed, and the simple and impressive effect of Giotto's composition is entirely lost. The Marriage and Return of the Virgin to her home are combined in one and the same picture, but in spite of the picturesque head-dresses introduced and the variety of foliage in the trees of the background, the composition is crowded and ineffective, and far inferior to Giotto's rendering. In the more homely scenes, however, Taddeo succeeds better, and the birth of the Virgin is perhaps the most natural and graceful subject of the whole series. The large Coronation of the Virgin attended by angels playing musical instruments, which originally hung in the Baroncelli Chapel and was long ascribed to Giotto, is also, there can be little doubt, Taddeo's work. To him, again, we may ascribe the panels of the presses which held the altar-plate in the sacristy of Santa Croce, decorated with scenes from the life of St. Francis, chiefly imitated from Giotto's frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi. Another large altar-piece of the Madonna and Child, attended by angels swinging censers and offering flowers, is in the gallery at Siena, and bears Taddeo's signature as well as the date 1355. After Giotto's death Taddeo became the foremost painter in Florence, and decorated numerous churches and cloisters with frescoes, which have all perished.

A modest and simple man, he retained the deepest veneration for his master's memory to the end, and is said to have signed some of his works with the inscription, "Taddeo, a disciple of Giotto, the good master." No one lamented the decline of art after Giotto's death more deeply than this loyal scholar, and in his old age he is reported to have said to Andrea Orcagna: "Art left the world with Giotto, and is sinking every day to a lower level." On the 29th of August 1366, Taddeo was summoned, together with the chief painters and goldsmiths of the city, to hold a consultation on the Duomo works, and seems to have died before the end of the year. On his death-bed he commended his sons Agnolo and Giovanni to Jacopo da Casentino for their moral training, and to Giovanni da Milano for their artistic education. In this he showed his perception. Jacopo was a native of the district of Casentino, who joined Taddeo when he was painting in the convent-church of La Vernia, and became one of his most devoted followers. He was an inferior artist, as we may learn from those of his frescoes which are still to be seen at Arezzo, but a man of considerable ability, who restored the ancient Roman aqueduct in that town, and supplied its inhabitants with water. But his chief title to fame lies in the fact that, in 1349, he founded the Guild of Florentine painters which bore the name of the Company of St. Luke.

Giovanni da Milano was a far better artist. Born at Caversaio, a village near Como, he early became one of Taddeo's assistants, and worked with him at Arezzo. In 1363, he matriculated in the Painters' Guild, and three years later was admitted to the privileges of a citizen of Florence. At that time he was living

with his family in the parish of S. Pietro Maggiore, and had lately finished the Pietà, now in the Accademia, signed with his name. "I, John of Milan, painted this picture in 1365." Early in the same year he accepted an order from the Prior of Santa Croce to decorate the Rinuccini Chapel with frescoes of the life of the Virgin and S. Mary Magdalene. In these eight subjects the traditional art of the Gaddi is enriched by the presence of fresh elements. A new type of features is introduced, the proportions of head and face are more correct, there is a certain sweetness and grace, which seems to have been the natural inheritance of Lombard artists, and a plentiful infusion of homely incidents partaking of the nature of *genre*. The busy movements and elaborately trimmed gowns of the maids who wash and dress the infant Virgin are as prominent as the dinner which the Apostles are in the act of eating at the Pharisee's table, or the cook and kitchen-fire which engross Martha's attention. Giovanni da Milano may possibly have been the painter of the scenes from the Virgin's life in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella, which Mr Ruskin has eloquently described in his "Mornings in Florence," and which are, no doubt, works by a Giottesque artist, but hardly, as he supposes, by the hand of Giotto himself. This Lombard master afterwards went to Rome, where he was employed in the Lateran from 1367 to 1370, and, according to Vasari, visited Assisi, and painted an important altar-piece in the Upper Church on his journey back to Milan.

Another follower of Giotto, who was also said to have worked in the Lateran, and who certainly painted in Santa Croce during Taddeo Gaddi's

lifetime, was a certain Tommaso di Banco, whom Vasari calls by his surname of Giottino, which he acquired, we are told, because in him the spirit and personality of Giotto seemed to live again. It seems doubtful whether the biographer has not confused two different painters in his account, but the man whom he calls Giottino, and whom Ghiberti more correctly describes as Maso di Banco, was a very interesting and attractive artist, who produced several striking works. Giottino, to call him by the commonly-accepted name, was born in 1324, matriculated in the Painters' Guild in 1343, and was admitted to the Company of St. Luke in 1350. After this we hear no more of him, and Vasari tells us that he died of consumption at the early age of thirty, worn out by ceaseless labour and devotion to his art. During his short life Giottino attained a high degree of fame, which in his eyes was of more value than any riches, to which he seems to have been singularly indifferent. Villani speaks of him as a charming man, *nomo gentilissimo*, and Ghiberti describes him as an illustrious artist, *pittore nobilissimo*. Both agree with Vasari that he was the author of the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Silvestro in Santa Croce. These paintings, which represent the miracles wrought by Bishop Sylvester, as told in the Golden Legend, are remarkable not only for the natural action and expression of the figures introduced, but for the skill and charm of the composition. The Giottesque practice of combining separate incidents in a single picture has been seldom adopted with such excellent effect as in the last fresco, where the Saint is represented closing the jaws of a dragon, and bringing back two dead Magi

to life, in the presence of the Emperor Constantine and his court. The perspective and chiaroscuro are little inferior to Giotto's own, and the hilly landscape with its classical buildings and long line of ruined arches form a picturesque background to the whole composition. The gentle melancholy and seriousness of the young master's nature, to which Vasari alludes, is more apparent in the beautiful Pietà which he painted for the church of S. Romeo, now in the corridor of the Uffizi. The general lines of the composition recall Giotto's Pietàs at Padua and Assisi, but the grief of the mourners is less passionate and more restrained. The holy Mother gazes tenderly at her Son's face, and St. John, standing behind with clasped hands, looks down upon them with deep distress and affection, while two Florentine ladies, the donors of the picture, kneel with folded arms at the foot of the cross, and St. Benedict and St. Zenobius, robed in full pontificals, lay their hands upon them in blessing. Cavalcaselle ascribes two paintings of the Nativity and Crucifixion in the crypt of the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella to this artist, as well as the fragments of an allegorical fresco, with a view of the Palazzo Vecchio, representing the Expulsion of Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, from Florence, which Giottino painted in the Palace of the Podestà, according to Vasari and Villani, when he was only twenty, and which were still to be seen a few years ago, in the Via del Diluvio. On his return from Rome, Giottino visited Assisi, but no trace of his work now remains in the great Franciscan basilica. The charming frescoes on the life of St. Nicholas in the Chapel of the Sacrament,

in the Lower Church, formerly ascribed to this master, belong to an earlier period, between 1300 and 1310, and were probably, as Mr. Berenson suggests, painted by the unknown assistant who completed Giotto's series in the Upper Church. Giottino's work at Assisi was interrupted by illness, brought on, we are told, by neglect of his health and excessive devotion to his art, and he came back to Florence, where he died soon afterwards, to the grief of his contemporaries, who felt that in him they had lost a truly great master. He was buried by his parents outside the walls of Santa Maria Novella, and Latin epitaphs lamenting his short life and rare promise were written in his honour.

A third artist who painted in Santa Croce during the latter half of the fourteenth century, was Agnolo Gaddi, the son of Taddeo. His first work of importance, the frescoes on the legend of the True Cross, which he painted for the Alberti family in the choir of Santa Croce, show a close following of the Giottesque tradition, modified by Sienese influences, and the example of Giovanni da Milano. The type of face with the long nose and heavy chin is still the same as in Taddeo's works, but there is more charm of feature and colouring, and some of the heads, such as St. Helena, with her braided hair and quaint coif, are distinctly attractive. The story of the Finding of the True Cross by the Empress, and of the miracles worked by the sacred relic, as recorded in the Golden Legend, is told with a variety of picturesque incident; and the third fresco, in which the vision appears to Heraclius in his sleep, and he is seen on horseback charging the hosts of Chosroes, evidently supplied

Piero dei Franceschi with the idea of his famous series at Arezzo. The portrait of the artist, with a short beard and red hood, may still be distinguished among the crowd assembled to witness the Emperor's entry into Jerusalem. Another series of frescoes which Agnolo painted later in life, in the Chapel of the Holy Girdle at Prato, show a marked improvement in composition and vivacity. These represent the early history of the Virgin, and tell the legend of the Girdle which dropped at her Assumption, and was caught by the doubting Thomas. In the eleventh century it was discovered in Palestine by Michele Dagomari, a citizen of Prato, who wedded the daughter of its owner, and brought back the precious relic with his bride to his Tuscan home. Unfortunately the later scenes, which represent the marriage of Michele, his return to Prato, and the procession bearing the Holy Girdle to the Duomo, are irreparably ruined. These works must have been the last which Agnolo ever executed. The Chapel was consecrated, and the Girdle solemnly deposited within its walls in 1395. A year later, on the 16th of October 1396, the painter himself died and was buried in Santa Croce. His sons gave up painting for trade, and opened a house in Venice, where they became wealthy merchants. One of his scholars was Cennino Cennini, whose name is well known, not because of his pictures, which have perished, but for the sake of the "Treatise on Painting," which he wrote in the early years of the fifteenth century. Cennino was born at Colle di Val d'Elsa, near Florence, about 1370, and was apprenticed to Agnolo Gaddi during twelve years. After his master's death

he went to Padua, where he entered the service of Francesco di Carrara, married a lady of good position, and spent the rest of his life. Here he "made and composed the Book of the Art, in the reverence of God and of the Virgin Mary, of St. Eustachius (his own patron), of St. Francis and St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony of Padua, in the reverence of Giotto, Taddeo and Agnolo, and for the utility and good and advantage of those who would attain perfection in the art." It was formerly supposed that Cennino died in the debtors' prison called the Stinchi in Florence, because the MS. of his book in the Laurentian Library ends with the words: "On the 31st of July 1437, in the Stinchi prison;" but this was probably added by the copyist who beguiled his prison hours by transcribing the treatise, and since this inscription is not found in the Riccardiani MS., there is no reason to conclude that Cennino's prosperous career had so dismal an end.

As a practical treatise on Trecento painting, dealing minutely with fresco and tempera alike, and describing the technique of Giotto and his immediate followers, Cennino's book is of the utmost value, while at the same time it gives us some insight into the habits and customs of Florentine painters at this period. He insists on the necessity of constantly referring to Nature, and advises every student to draw something from Nature every day. But he lays down certain rules to be observed in the proportion of the human figure and face, which is to be divided into three parts — the forehead, the nose, and the chin with the mouth. And he gives minute prescriptions for the composition

of the landscape and arrangement of trees and rocks, as well as the rudiments of perspective to be observed in drawing buildings. Fresco-painting he calls delightful and charming work, but on the whole he himself prefers tempera, which is, after all, "the proper employment of a gentleman, who, with velvet on his back, may spend what he pleases." The student is advised always to choose the best and most famous master, and remain with him, remembering that Taddeo was the great Giotto's disciple during twenty-four years, and that this is a far better way of attaining to excellence than to be constantly wandering from one teacher to another. Another piece of solid advice which Cennino gives the beginner, is the importance of using fine gold and the best colours, especially in painting figures of Our Lady. "If you say that you are poor and cannot afford the expense, remember that the fame you will gain by good work will bring you two ducats where others will only receive one, according to the old proverb: 'Good work, good pay;' and whenever you are not well paid, God and Our Lady will reward you, both in soul and body.' The writer is never tired of dwelling on the high seriousness of Art, on the solitude, abstinence, and absolute devotion which this calling demands. The young painter must regulate his way of living as carefully as the student of theology or philosophy; he must take little wine, eat and drink temperately, and avoid the company of women, which is apt to render the hand unsteady. Above all, he must bear in mind the distinctly religious side of his work, and begin by invoking the most Holy Trinity and glorious Virgin Mary before he prepares

the foundation of his picture. Cennino's frequent allusions to Giotto, and the profound reverence with which he always mentions him show how fondly the great master's memory was cherished by the third generation of artists which had arisen since his death.

The second great storehouse of Trecento art in Florence is Santa Maria Novella, the Dominican Church, built in the last years of the thirteenth century by a succession of friar architects. Both Cimabue and Giotto had adorned this church with their works, and frescoes by Giottesque artists may still be seen in the crypt and cloisters, while one of the best preserved and most complete schemes of decoration executed by Trecento artists is to be found in the ancient Chapter-house. This building is now known as the Spanish Chapel, a name which it acquired in 1556, when Duke Cosimo I. granted the use of the hall to the suite of his wife Eleanor of Toledo. The Chapter-house was founded in 1350 by Buonamico Guidalotti, a wealthy Florentine, in honour of the newly instituted Festival of Corpus Christi, and was not yet finished when he made his will five years later. The architect was a Dominican brother, Fra Jacopo Talenti, but the names of the artists who painted the interior remain unknown. Vasari ascribes the frescoes partly to Taddeo Gaddi, who may have designed some of the subjects, but has left no trace of his hand on the walls, and partly to Simone Martini, who could have had no share in the work, since he left Italy in 1339, and died at Avignon in 1344. Both Milanesi and Cavalcaselle ascribe the frescoes formerly assigned to Simone, to Andrea da Firenze, the painter of the Legend

of S. Ranieri in the Campo Santo, while the last-named writer considers the subjects on the roof to be the work of Antonio Veneziano, the master who completed the series of Andrea's frescoes at Pisa. The general scheme was evidently carefully drawn up by the Prior of the convent, and probably several different artists were employed to carry out his ideas. None of these were masters of the first rank, but the whole effect is fine and imposing, and affords a curious and characteristic illustration of contemporary theology. The Ship of the Church, a repetition of Giotto's Navicella, the Resurrection, Ascension, and Descent of the Holy Ghost, are represented on the four compartments of the ceiling, and a crowded composition of the Crucifixion covers the wall above the altar. But the glorification of the Dominican Order was the real object in view, and the chief interest centres in the two large allegorical frescoes on the East and West walls, in which the mission of the Dominicans in teaching and saving souls is set forth. On the East wall, to the right of the entrance, Pope Benedict XI. and the Emperor Henry VII. are enthroned, as representatives of the spiritual and temporal power, attended by cardinals and courtiers, while the flock of the faithful slumber peacefully at their feet, watched over by black and white dogs —*Domini canes*, or hounds of the Lord. Behind, a model of Arnolfo's Duomo and Giotto's Campanile appears, and Dominican friars are seen preaching to heretics, who tear up their false books, while black and white dogs drive away the wolves that devour Christ's flock. On the wall above, symbolising

the pleasures of the world, are a group of knights and fair ladies with falcons and lap-dogs, seated under a grove of pomegranate trees; and one richly-dressed lady in green, called by Vasari Petrarch's Laura, represents Earthly Love. Further to the right a Dominican friar gives absolution to a penitent soul and points out the way to Paradise, where angels welcome the elect, and St. Peter stands ready to unlock the golden gates; and beyond, we catch a glimpse of saints in glory and happy spirits dancing hand in hand. On the opposite wall St. Thomas Aquinas is enthroned between Prophets and Evangelists, under a Gothic canopy, with the Book of Wisdom open in his hands, and the heretics Arius, Sabellius and Averroes crouching vanquished at his feet. Beneath, we have a row of fourteen Virtues and Sciences, seated in richly carved Gothic stalls, with illustrious teachers at their feet. Cicero, conspicuous by his fine intellectual face, sits at the feet of Rhetoric; Justinian, wearing a blue robe and white and gold crown, appears under the figure of Civil Law; Pythagoras represents Arithmetic; Pope Clement V., Canon Law; Boethius, Theology, and Aristotle, the science of Dialectics. The refined and thoughtful philosopher, wearing a gold crown on his head, and seated at the feet of Astronomy, is said to represent Atlas, the first king of Fiesole, while Tubal Cain, a shaggy, long-haired patriarch, lifts his hammer to strike the anvil, under the green-robed form of Music. These allegorical figures lack the convincing power and reality of Giotto's Vices and Virtues, but many of the heads have a certain grandeur, and the way in which the whole system

of mediæval education is illustrated does credit to the invention of the Dominican Prior.

It is also within the walls of Santa Maria Novella that we find the only paintings now remaining by the hand of a far better master than any of those who were employed in the Spanish Chapel, Andrea Orcagna. This artist, the best of all the Giotteschi painters, and, next to Giotto himself, the greatest Florentine master of the century, was the son of a goldsmith named Cione. The surname of Orcagna, by which he became generally known, seems to have been an abbreviation of Arcagnolo, which he acquired from his home in the parish of St. Michael the Archangel. Born about the year 1308, Andrea belonged to a family of artists, and was, like Giotto himself, architect, sculptor and painter. Like Giotto, he was a man of genial temper and pleasant manner, who made himself beloved by all. And like Giotto, too, he wrote poetry, and a book of his sonnets is preserved in the Magliabecchian Library, while a later poet, Burchiello, mentions Orcagna among the poets who in past days have written of love. After learning the elements of painting from his elder brother Nardo, Orcagna studied sculpture under Andrea Pisano. But he matriculated in the Painters' Guild in 1343, and was only admitted to the art of wood and stone carvers nine years later. By this time he was already recognised as the best Florentine painter who had arisen since the death of Giotto, and as such was employed on extensive works in Santa Maria Novella. The frescoes of the life of the Virgin, with which he decorated the choir, were, unfortunately, ruined by a violent storm in 1358, and finally painted over by Ghirlandajo, who, according to Vasari,

MADONNA BY ANDREA ORCAGNA. (S. MARIA NOVELLA.)

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repeated Orcagna's composition in many instances. After finishing the choir, Andrea was employed to execute three large frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel. Of these, the Inferno, an exact representation of the *Malebolge* of Dante, whose poem Andrea studied attentively, has been entirely repainted, while the Paradise and Last Judgment have been much damaged by damp and restoration. Enough remains, however, to give us a high idea of Orcagna's powers. The forms are better drawn, there is a distinct advance in structural accuracy in foreshortening and modelling, together with more beauty of feature than is found in the work of other Giotteschi masters. The best qualities of contemporary Sienese and Florentine art are here combined, while there is a grandeur and solemnity about the whole that recalls Giotto's conceptions. The two angels playing the lyre and violin at the feet of Christ and his Mother, in the Paradise, are strong and graceful beings, and the white-robed Virgin kneeling before the Judge, interceding for sinful mortals, is one of the finest figures in Trecento art. The large altar-piece in the same chapel was also painted for the Strozzi family by Andrea, after he had completed the frescoes, between the years 1354 and 1357. A figure of Christ enthroned and worshipped by angels occupies the central compartment. On the right, the Virgin presents St. Thomas Aquinas, to whom he gives the book of the Gospels ; and on the left, the Baptist introduces St. Peter, who receives the keys from his Lord's hands. St. Katharine and St. Michael stand behind the Virgin, and a noble figure of St. Paul, with a long beard and intellectual head, accompanied by

St. Laurence, fills up the opposite corner of the picture, to which is attached a predella representing incidents in the lives of these saints. Both in this altar-piece and in his mural paintings we are conscious of a certain austerity and symmetry of design, and realise that Orcagna was greater as a sculptor than as a painter. His chief achievement in this direction was the famous tabernacle which he designed and executed between 1349 and 1359, for the church of Or' San Michele, to contain a wonder-working picture of the Madonna which had become the object of popular devotion during the great plague of 1348. This white marble shrine, with its spiral columns and pinnacles rising almost to the roof of the church, delicately carved and studded with jewels and enamels, is in itself a marvel of the sculptor and goldsmith's art ; while Andrea's vigorous and dramatic basreliefs of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin form a connecting link between the sculptures of Giotto's Campanile and the bronze gates of the Baptistery. From 1355 to 1359 Andrea held the post of Capomaestro to this church of Or' San Michele, which had arisen on the site of the ancient Corn Market, and was under the protection of the seven chief Florentine Guilds. In 1356 he received an order from the Signory to build the Loggia de' Priori, which bears his name, on the public square, but never executed the work, which was only begun seventy years later. In the same year his design for the chief doorway of the Duomo was accepted, and in 1358 he was summoned to Orvieto, and appointed Capo-maestro of the Duomo works. He afterwards returned there at intervals, and executed the mosaic decorations of the façade

in 1362, but his numerous engagements in Florence compelled him to give up the office. In 1368, a dangerous illness forced him to leave the completion of an altar-piece, ordered by the Guild of Money-changers for Or' San Michele, to his brother Jacopo, and before the end of the year he died, leaving a son who became a painter, and two young daughters named Tessa and Romola.

The name of Andrea Orcagna was long connected with another celebrated sanctuary decorated by Giottesque artists—the Campo Santo of Pisa; but Vasari's assertion that he painted the Triumph of Death is absolutely without foundation, and these famous frescoes are now generally recognised to be the work of an unknown Sienese master. Florentine influences, however, are mingled with these traditions. Both Dante and Boccaccio's thought, it is plain, inspired the author of this great Vision of Life and Death, while the Angels of Judgment and Mercy recall Orcagna's forms. In spite of their separate origin and distinctive features, the art of Florence and Siena acted mutually on each other in many respects during the fourteenth century, and Sienese influences became increasingly apparent in the works of the later Giotteschi. Among these were several painters who assisted in the decoration of the Campo Santo. Native art in Pisa never rose above mediocrity, and after the death of the Lorenzetti brothers in the plague of 1348, and the consequent decline of Sienese art, the Directors of the Cathedral works sought the help of Florentine artists to adorn the stately cloisters erected by Giovanni Pisano. In 1371, they engaged Francesco da Volterra, a Giottesque master who had

settled at Pisa about 1346, and was elected a member of the Great Council in 1358, to paint the history of Job on the south wall of the Campo Santo. These six subjects, which were long ascribed to Giotto, are the most damaged of the whole series, but the remaining fragments show considerable inventive faculty and power of expression. Especially striking is the vision of the Court of Heaven, with Christ encircled by a rosy cloud that floats over a landscape of rocks and sea, and Satan, as a horned fiend with bat's wings, pleading his cause. The contrast between the condition of Job in his prosperity, feasting among his friends, and surrounded by flocks and servants, and the bereft and lonely state to which he is reduced in the day of affliction, is finely brought out; and the towers and domes of a mediæval city rise picturesquely in the background of the double subject.

The next Giottesque master who worked in the Campo Santo was Andrea da Firenze, the painter, according to Cavalcaselle, of the Spanish Chapel. On the 13th October 1377, this artist received 529 *lire* and 10 *soldi* as a final instalment of the sum due to him for three frescoes of the story of the Pisan Saint, Ranieri, which he painted on the upper part of the South wall. Andrea was evidently an artist of some repute, but these scenes in which the conversion of the Saint and his pilgrimage to the Holy Land are set forth, display the same conventional types and feeble and ineffective composition that we find in the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel, without having the interest of the subjects there represented. When the upper course of San Ranieri's life was finished, Andrea left Pisa, to execute other works in Florence; and after

waiting several years for his return, the Directors of the Campo Santo invited Antonio Veneziano to complete the series. A Venetian by birth, Antonio early became the assistant of Agnolo Gaddi, and matriculated in the Florentine Guild of Painters in 1374, after which he returned to Venice, and was employed to paint a fresco in the Hall of the Great Council. In spite of his merits, however, he failed to win the approval of his countrymen, and leaving Venice in disgust he came back to Florence, where he executed many works in the Certosa of Val d'Ema and other churches, which have now perished, and attained a well-deserved reputation. From 1384 to 1386, he lived at Pisa, in a house belonging to the Administration of the Cathedral Works, and received 210 florins for three frescoes representing the return of San Ranieri from the Holy Land, his death and the translation of his body to the Duomo, and the miracles wrought by his relics. The vigour and animation with which these subjects are illustrated, and the clearness and brightness of the few remnants of original colour that still remain, justify the high praise bestowed by Vasari on these works, which he pronounces to be the finest of all the frescoes painted by many excellent masters in the Campo Santo. The first subject is the best preserved and most successful, showing us, as it does, the galleys arriving in the harbour, with the wind swelling their sails, and the Saint's miraculous conversion of the inn-keeper, whom he convicts of mixing water with wine, at the suggestion of a demon seated in the form of a cat on the top of the barrel. Here again the architectural details are full of picturesque charm, and in the next

two subjects, the Duomo, Baptistery and leaning Tower are all introduced. Antonio Veneziano executed several other works in the Cathedral, and remained at Pisa till August 1387, after which we lose sight of him, and are left to believe Vasari's assertion, that he became so much interested in chemical experiments, that in his old age he abandoned painting for the study of medicine. But he was a master of considerable power, and as the pupil of Agnolo Gaddi and the master of Starnina, he forms an important link in the development of Florentine art.

Yet two more Giottesque masters were employed in the Campo Santo during the last years of the fourteenth century: Pietro di Puccio, of Orvieto—who painted four frescoes of the Creation, the Fall of Man, Death of Abel, and the Deluge, on the North wall, in the year 1390—and Spinello Aretino. In his attempt to represent the work of Creation, Puccio shows himself an inferior artist, as much influenced by Sienese as Giottesque tradition, and quite unable to draw nude forms correctly, but not without considerable gifts of poetic invention, which find their happiest expression in the fruit-trees and singing-birds, the marble fountains and terraces of the Garden of Eden. Spinello was a more popular and prolific artist, who painted the five frescoes of the legend of the warrior Saints, Efeso and Potito on the South wall, within the space of seven months, and received 1032 *lire* for his work in March 1392. Born at Arezzo about 1433, and sprung from a family of goldsmiths, he became a scholar of Jacopo da Casentino, and painted an immense number of frescoes in Florence and Arezzo during the course of his long life. His delight in

battle-pieces and crowded and animated scenes finds expression both in his Campo Santo works and in the sixteen frescoes representing the wars of Barbarossa and the ultimate triumph of the Sienese Pope, Alexander III., which he painted in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, in 1408. Like Orcagna and most of the later Giotteschi, Spinello combines many of the characteristics of Florentine and Sienese artists, but his skill in telling a story and his bright and decorative colouring are marred by superficial and hasty execution. Some of his best compositions are to be seen in the sacristy of S. Miniato al Monte, which he adorned with legends of the life of St. Benedict, and some of his worst in the Pharmacy of the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, where he executed a series of scenes from the Passion in his last years. He retired to his native town of Arezzo at the end of 1408, and died there in March 1410, painting frescoes up to the last. According to Vasari, his end was hastened by a sudden fright which he received from a vision of Lucifer, who appeared to him in his sleep, and reproached him for having represented him in so hideous a form in his fresco of the fallen angels. In his work at Siena, Spinello had an able and efficient helper in his son Gaspare, better known as Parri Spinello, who has left many examples of his art in Arezzo, and who carried on Giottesque traditions into the middle of the next century.

Another painter who, although he worked in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, may be classed among Trecento artists, was Lorenzo Monaco, the Camaldolese monk belonging to the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence. A native of Siena,

where he was born about 1370, this gentle brother, who was received into the Order in December 1391, brought ideal charm and sweetness to blend with the Giottesque style which he acquired from Agnolo Gaddi. Both the early Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, and the altar-piece of the Annunciation in S. Trinità, are curiously like Simone Martini's work, while the frescoes of the Virgin's life, which have been recently recovered from the whitewash which concealed them, recall Giotto's types and composition. These last are full of solemn inspiration and genuine artistic charm, and the good monk's poetic invention finds expression in the broken and varied scenery, the islands and castellated rocks and sea-shore of the landscape backgrounds. But Lorenzo's masterpiece is the large Coronation in the Uffizi, which he painted in 1413, for the high altar of his own convent church, and which was removed, 200 years later, to the daughter convent of Cerreto, half-way between Florence and Siena. Here the tender devotion of the saints' heads and the angels swinging censers or kneeling round the throne already speak to us of Fra Angelico, while new and brilliant effects of colour are produced by the use of transparent white glazes. As in the works of many Sienese painters, reality is sacrificed to artistic effect, and under the saintly artist's hand, earthly objects are transfigured by the glory of heaven. The Camaldolese painter soon acquired a fame which drew him beyond the narrow precincts of his convent walls. In 1402, he went to Rome to paint a missal for Cardinal Acciaiuoli, and on his return he was employed by the City Guilds to design cartoons for the stained-

glass windows of Or' San Michele. He also painted the choir-books of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, and, in 1422, received 114 gold florins for an altar-piece which he executed for the Chapel of S. Egidio in that foundation. No record of him is found after this date, and his death took place when he was away from Florence, about 1425. Lorenzo Monaco's career gave a marked impulse to the practice of art within the cloister, and a school of miniature painters sprang up in the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli, which soon found rivals in the other monastic communities of Florence, more especially in the Dominican houses of Fiesole and S. Marco.

TADDEO GADDI—

Florence.—Santa Croce: Baroncelli Chapel: Frescoes—Life of the Virgin.

" *Medici Chapel:* Coronation of the Virgin.

" *Accademia:* 104-115. Life of Christ; 117-126. Life of St. Francis.

GIOVANNI DA MILANO—

Florence.—Santa Croce: Cappella Rinuccini: Frescoes—Lives of the Virgin and Magdalene.

" *Accademia:* 131. Pietà, 1365.

GIOTTINO—

Florence.—Santa Croce: Frescoes—Life of St. Sylvester.

" *Uffizi:* 27. Pietà.

AGNOLO GADDI—

Florence.—Santa Croce: Frescoes—Legend of the True Cross.

Prato.—Duomo: Frescoes—Legend of the Holy Girdle.

ANDREA ORCAGNA—

Florence.—Santa Maria Novella. Strozzi Chapel: Frescoes—Last Judgment, Inferno, Paradiso. Altar-piece—Christ and Saints.

ANDREA DA FIRENZE—

Florence.—Spanish Chapel: Frescoes.

Pisa.—Campo Santo: Frescoes—Life of S. Ranieri.

ANTONIO VENEZIANO—

Pisa.—Campo Santo: Frescoes—Life of S. Ranieri.

SPINELLO ARETINO—

Florence. — S. Miniato al Monte: Frescoes — Life of St. Benedict; *S. Maria Novella. Farmacia:* Life of Christ.

Pisa.—Campo Santo: Frescoes—Lives of S. Efeso and Potito.

Siena.—Palazzo Pubblico: Frescoes—Wars of Barbarossa.

LORENZO MONACO—

Florence.—Accademia delle Belle Arti:

143. Annunciation.
144. Life of S. Onofrio.
145. Nativity.
146. Life of St Martin.

" *Uffizi:* 39. Adoration of Magi.
40. Pietà.
41. Madonna and Saints.
1309. Coronation.

" *S. Trinità:* Annunciation.

" *Bartolini Chapel:* Frescoes—Life of Virgin.

Bergamo.—Gallery: 10. Dead Christ.

Prato.—Gallery: 3. Madonna and Saints.

Berlin.—1119. Madonna and Saints.

London.—National Gallery: 215, 216. Saints.

Munich.—Pinacothek: 96. St. Peter.

Paris.—Louvre: 1348. Triptych: Saints.

Fresco is a method of painting on a surface of wet plaster, made of lime and sand, spread over the wall. In *buon fresco*, the colours were laid on this coating or *intonaco* while it was still wet, and allowed to sink into the plaster. In *fresco a secco* the last coat of plaster was allowed to dry, scraped smooth, and wetted again before it was painted. Both processes were commonly used by early Florentine masters for mural painting, and are fully described by Cennino, but were considerably modified by later artists. *Tempera*, or distemper, the process commonly used by Italian masters in painting altar-pieces and other panels, consisted of mixing colours with water and yolk of egg, sometimes diluted with the milky juice of the fig-tree. Frescoes were often re-touched in *tempera* and *fresco a secco*, and oil varnishes, Cennino tells us, were applied both to fresco and *tempera* paintings as early as the fourteenth century.

IV

MASOLINO

1383–1447

THE art of Giotto lasted a hundred years. His personality overshadows the whole of the fourteenth century, and the study of his followers' works only serves to make us realise the surpassing glory of his genius. After him there was no great advance in Florentine art during several generations. "Giotto still holds the field," wrote Dante's commentator, Benvenuto da Imola, in 1376, "for no greater artist than he has yet arisen, although his works contain many faults." The testimony is striking, coming as it does from a contemporary of Orcagna. The defects in Giotto's art were apparent, but of all the other artists who had followed in his steps during the last fifty years, there was not one who could compare with him. Here and there some slight signs of progress were perceptible. There had been a distinct improvement in details and accessories in landscape and architecture. Giottino had effected some advance in artistic composition, Orcagna in scientific rendering of form; and towards the end of the century a marked tendency towards greater realism, and the more accurate representation of objects, appeared in the works of such men as

Antonio Veneziano. But the next step forward was only to come with the opening years of the new century. As in the days of Giotto, Florence was still the centre of the new culture, the starting-point of all literary and artistic endeavour. After the troubles excited by the revolt of the Ciompi and the final conquest of Pisa, the Republic entered on a prolonged period of peace and prosperity. The wealth of her merchants increased rapidly, and the chiefs of rival factions, whether Medici or Albizzi, alike devoted their gold and authority to the encouragement of art and letters. The first thirty years of the fifteenth century witnessed a great development of civic life, which was followed by a corresponding advance in humanist literature and a wonderful blossoming of the fine arts. Then Brunellesco modelled the mighty cupola which is still without a rival in the world ; then Ghiberti carved the Baptistery gates, and Donatello worked the passionate dreams of his soul into the marble Saints which guard the walls of Or' San Michele. And then, too, Masaccio painted the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, to be the wonder of future ages and the model of successive generations of artists in the years to come.

The three essential points which distinguish Quattrocento painting from that of the Trecento are: the accurate study of the human form, the scientific knowledge of perspective, and the introduction of classical instead of Gothic architecture. These were followed by many other minor developments in modelling and chiaroscuro, in landscape and portrait painting. Once more the sister-art of sculpture led the way, and it was Brunellesco and Donatello who

imposed their aims and ideals on the new generation of painters, as Niccoló and Giovanni Pisano had done a century before. In the opening years of the fifteenth century the two most flourishing classes of artists in Florence were the sculptors and the goldsmiths or workers in metal. From their shops the men who were to be the pioneers of the new movement went forth, and a race of heroic toilers arose, with no desire but the faithful following of nature and the eager search after truth. Masaccio was the representative of the new movement in painting, the man who took up the banner which had fallen from Giotto's hand, and bore it one stage further in advance. But great as his genius was, and bold as were the innovations which this short-lived master introduced, it would be a mistake to regard his appearance as that of an isolated phenomenon. The way was prepared for him by a succession of lesser artists, who held an intermediate place in this period of transition, between the Giotteschi and the Quattrocento painters. Of these the most important was Gherardo, called *Starnina*, after his father, Jacopo, surnamed Starna—"the partridge"—a scholar of Antonio Veneziano, who was born in 1354, and admitted to the Painters' Guild in 1387. During the interval, he had been exiled on suspicion of being implicated in the Ciompi riots, and spent nine years in Spain, where he was employed by the reigning monarch, John of Castille, and executed paintings which were still to be seen in the Escurial, early in this century. The young Florentine's naturally wild and turbulent nature became tamed, and his rough manners polished by his residence at the court of Castille; and when, in 1387, he returned to Florence,

richly endowed by his royal patron, and highly skilled in his art, he found friends and work in abundance. Starnina acquired great renown by the frescoes which he painted in a chapel of the Carmine, in which he introduced many personages in Spanish costume, as well as a variety of life-like and humorous incidents He died in 1408, and was lamented by his contemporaries as an artist of "profound invention and elegant execution." But since none of his works are in existence now, it is only by studying the paintings of his followers that we are able to form any idea of his style.

One of these was Antonio Vite, of Pistoia, whom Starnina sent to Pisa in 1403, in his stead, and who afterwards executed some curious frescoes in the Chapel of the Assumption at Prato. Vite was an artist of little power and importance, but in these paintings of the life of the Virgin and of St. Stephen we see a marked change of style. The composition, it is true, follows the old Giottesque lines; but the heads are shorter and flatter, the features more strongly marked, the lights are brighter and the shadows deeper. There is more realism in the draperies and costumes, the caps are wound round the head like turbans, as in Masolino and Masaccio's works, the faces are more individual, and there is a new sense of life and movement in the figures who crowd around the dying martyr. Besides Antonio Vite, Starnina numbered among his pupils two artists who attained high distinction in the coming century, and held an important place in the annals of Florentine art. These were Fra Angelico and Masolino, the master of Masaccio.

The similarity of names between these two men the elder, Tommaso, who was known as Masolino, "Little Tom," and the younger, who acquired the nickname of Masaccio, "Big Tom," or, as Browning renders it, "hulking Tom," has been productive of endless confusion. At one time the very personality of Masolino was in danger of being merged in that of his more distinguished scholar. But recent research has done much to clear away these difficulties, and to distinguish between the work of the two artists, if the chronology of their lives still remains wrapt in obscurity, and if critics cannot yet agree as to the exact share which each master had in the famous frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel. Masolino, or, to call him by his full name, Tommaso di Cristoforo di Fino, was the son of a house-painter of Panicale, a hamlet in the commune of Colle di Val d'Elsa, where he was born in 1383. Vasari's statements that he learnt painting of Starnina, and worked as a goldsmith in Ghiberti's shop, are both probably correct. It is true that Masolino was only five years younger than Ghiberti, but since he did not matriculate as a painter until January 1423, he may have been employed before this as that master's assistant. Throughout his career, his amiable character and impressionable nature led him to make friends easily, and to assimilate new ideas wherever he met with them. Of his early works we have no record, and the first painting we have from his hand is a Madonna, at Bremen, which bears the date of 1423, together with the inscription: *O quanta misericordia di Dio!*—"O how great is the mercy of God!" Here the drapery recalls Lorenzo Monaco's style, while the

slender form and expressive face are characteristic of Starnina's followers. Another Madonna at Munich belongs evidently to a somewhat later date, and resembles Gentile da Fabriano's work, both in the attitude of the Virgin, who, with one knee on the ground, adores the child whom she supports with her arm, and in the lavish use of gold embroidery on her robe. Both of these have the full rounded foreheads and placid gaze that distinguish all Masolino's figures.

About the year 1423, Masolino, who was then living in the parish of S. Felicità in Florence, was entrusted with the task of decorating a chapel in the Carmine, which had been lately built by Felice Brancacci. This eminent citizen was sent, in 1422, on an embassy to the Sultan of Babylon, to obtain certain privileges for Florentine merchants, and in a will which he made before his departure he speaks of his new foundation, but does not mention the frescoes, which were, apparently, not yet begun. During the next two years Masolino and his young assistant, Masaccio, decorated the roof and upper part of the chapel walls with frescoes of the four Evangelists and the Call, Denial, and Ship of St. Peter. These subjects, which adorned the ceiling and lunettes on the upper part of the walls, have been destroyed, while the twelve frescoes on the lower walls and pilasters remain. Three of these frescoes, the Fall of Adam and Eve, the Preaching of Peter, and the double subject of the Raising of Tabitha and Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, have been ascribed by many of the best critics to Masolino, and certainly bear strong marks of his

style. But they are so much superior to the later work executed by Masolino, that it is difficult to suppose they are by his hand; while their position, on the upper part of the walls above Masaccio's indisputable works, makes it almost impossible that they should have been added after the death of that painter. These reasons go far to justify Crowe and Cavalcaselle's contention, that Masaccio was the author of all the frescoes now remaining in the Brancacci Chapel, and that the differences we discern in the earlier and later works are only the result of the same artist's gradual development and emancipation from his master's style—such as we see, for instance, in the case of Raphael. Certainly the Crucifixion in the Mond collection, or the St. Sebastian at Bergamo, come as near to Perugino's manner as these three frescoes do to that of Masolino. When Albertini and Vasari state that half of the Chapel was painted by Masolino, and half by Masaccio, they probably allude to the destroyed frescoes of the roof and lunettes, which were undoubtedly Masolino's work; while in the case of the three doubtful subjects, the scholar may well have made use of cartoons prepared by the master before he was called away.

Masolino's presence in Florence in 1425, is proved by a small payment made to him by a Guild connected with the Carmine Church; but in the same year he went to Hungary, at the request of Filippo Scolari, a Florentine soldier who had defeated the Turks and risen to high distinction in the service of Sigismund, king of Hungary. This bold Ghibelline leader, now Obergespan or Hospodar of Temeswar in Hungary, popularly known in his old home as

Pippo Spano, invited Masolino to decorate a church which he had built at Stuhlweissenburg. Leaving Masaccio to finish the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, the Florentine master travelled to Hungary, where he entered the Hospodar's service, and remained there some time after his patron's death in the following year. This is proved by the following income-tax return of 1427, made by Masolino's father, Cristoforo di Fino, who was then living in the quarter of Santa Croce of Florence :—" Tommaso my son is in Hungary, and is said to have received a certain quantity of money from the heirs of Messer Filippo Scolari, but how much I do not know, and therefore cannot state. There are 360 florins of common property here."

On his return to Italy, Masolino stopped in Lombardy, at the invitation of Cardinal Branda di Castiglione, an illustrious Milanese prelate, who had been sent to Hungary as papal legate, and may have seen the artist when he passed through Florence on his way from Rome in 1425. Here Cardinal Branda employed him to paint the choir of the noble Collegiate Church which he had lately built in his native town of Castiglione on the banks of the river Olona, near Varese. The Church was consecrated in 1425, by Branda himself, and the decoration of the interior was completed in 1428, as we learn from an inscription on a bas-relief over the portal. These frescoes, which were only discovered sixty years ago, when the whitewash was removed from the walls, represent the history of the Virgin, and scenes from the life of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen, to whom the church was dedicated. The best preserved subjects are those

on the vaulted ceiling, among others a fine composition of the Nativity, with a noble and dignified figure of Cardinal Branda among the worshippers at the manger, and a *cartellino* bearing the words, *Masolinus de Florentia pinxit*, in the left-hand corner.

The profile of the youthful Madonna and the slender angel-forms recall the types of Masolino's fellow-pupil, Fra Angelico, but the faces have none of the Dominican master's intensity of expression. We see Masolino here at the age of forty-five, still as a distinctly Giottesque designer, timidly attempting to adopt new practices, introducing classic as well as Gothic architecture in his buildings, deeper folds in his draperies, and stronger modelling in his figures. But in the frescoes which Masolino painted seven years later in the Baptistery at Castiglione, we find a striking advance, and there can be little doubt that he returned to Florence during the interval, and became acquainted with the latest developments of the new school. There he found such artists as Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno engaged in working out the latest problems of scientific perspective, and rendering form and movement with the vigorous realism which we admire in Hawkwood of his equestrian portrait. He found his old comrade Ghiberti at work on his second Baptistery gate, and Donatello engaged on the marble singing-gallery with the famous frieze of children, for the Duomo. And in that same Brancacci Chapel, where he had painted his own frescoes a few years before, he now saw the wonderful works of his old scholar, the marvellous youth Masaccio, who, after painting

these masterpieces, had left his work unfinished, and had gone to die, unknown and unhonoured, in Rome.

The second series of Masolino's works at Castiglione show us how ready he was to receive new impressions, and how attentively he had studied these things in his old home. The Baptistery frescoes abound in reminiscences of the new Quattrocento art, which was fast superseding the old Giottesque tradition. Both the Evangelists and Angels on the ceiling, and the Gabriel and Virgin of the ruined Annunciation on the entrance wall, still recall Angelico by their slender forms and masses of fair curls; while the small folds and flowing scroll-work of the draperies are curiously like Ghiberti's reliefs. But in the scenes from the Baptist's life there is far more of the new realism. The Baptist standing before Herod is a fine and imposing figure, and the action of the soldier who strikes off his head in prison is singularly well rendered, although the structure of the forms is still vague and uncertain, and the limbs and details of the hands and feet are often badly drawn. The shivering boy wrapping his yellow cloak around him, in the Baptism of Christ, and the man with his back turned towards us in the act of pulling off his shirt, are plainly adapted from Masaccio's famous fresco in the Carmine, and are both excellently drawn; the figure of Christ, again, standing in the stream of Jordan, is not without a certain grandeur; but the arms of the Baptist are too short, and his whole form is awkward and ill-proportioned. Perhaps the most effective subject of the whole series is that of Salome before Herod. Here the story is

THE FEAST OF HEROD (CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA)—MASOLINO.

told with a naïve sincerity, mingled with a new sense of actuality, which are very characteristic of Masolino. Herod and his guests are seated at table, under a classical loggia, decorated with a frieze of cherubs bearing garlands, such as Jacopo della Quercia had carved on Ilaria del Carretto's tomb at Lucca, twenty years before, and Salome, a gentle and modest maiden, with arms folded across her breast, advances to proffer her request to the king. The two fashionably dressed courtiers behind her closely resemble the figures in the Raising of Tabitha, in the Brancacci Chapel, and in the fine profile of the middle-aged man, with the short beard and moustache, we recognise the portrait of Masolino himself, as painted by Masaccio in his fresco of the Healing of the Cripple, and reproduced by Vasari in his life of the artist. The aged priest with the keen face and white hair, seated next to Herod at dinner, clad in purple and white ermine, is evidently Cardinal Branda, who was at that time over eighty years of age; while in the Hungarian magnate at his side, with the huge bear-skin and long dark beard, we have a portrait of Masolino's former patron, the great Hospodar, Pippo Spano. Under the open colonnade on the right we see another group. Herodias, robed in gorgeous flowered brocades, and wearing a small gold crown on the top of a towering turban, receives the Baptist's head, which Salome presents on her knees. The girl's long hair is wreathed with roses, and both mother and daughter have the same air of quiet content on their faces; but the two maidens in plum-coloured robes, standing behind Herodias, start back and hold up their hands in horror at the dreadful sight. In the distance

beyond the loggia roof and the long arcades of the court, the Saint's disciples are seen bearing their master's remains to his burial, in a mountain landscape that strongly resembles the backgrounds of Ghiberti's reliefs.

After the year 1435—which is the date inscribed on the Baptistery frescoes—we have no further record of Masolino, and it is only on the strength of internal evidence that another series of frescoes in the basilica of S. Clemente, in Rome, can be ascribed to him. These paintings, which Vasari attributes to Masaccio, are now generally recognised to be by the elder master, and are supposed by many critics to have been early works executed between 1417 and 1420, when Branda di Castiglione was titular Cardinal of S. Clemente. But the great advance in the style of these frescoes renders it inconceivable that they should belong to an earlier date than those at Castiglione, and Dr. Wickhoff is no doubt right in assigning them to the last years of Masolino's life, when another Lombard prelate, Enrico di Allosio was Cardinal of S. Clemente. On the right wall of the chapel are four scenes from the life of St. Ambrose, that favourite Milanese saint. In the first, the Saint is seen lying as a babe in his cradle, where he is attacked by a swarm of bees, which his nurse-maid vainly endeavours to drive away, but which, to the amazement of his parents, do him no injury. In the second, his election as Bishop of Milan is decided by the sudden appearance of the Christ-Child, who singles him out as chosen of God for the office. The third represents an incident in one of St. Ambrose's journeys, when the house of a rich nobleman who had

refused to receive him was suddenly submerged; and in the fourth we have a picture of the Saint's death-bed. This last scene is laid in a small red-walled chamber, with writing-table, desk and books, and a Murano glass standing on the cupboard-shelf, and is interesting as one of the earliest examples of an interior in Quattrocento art. On the opposite wall are five scenes from the life of St. Katherine of Alexandria. The triumph of the Virgin-saint over the pagan philosophers of Maxentius, the conversion of the Empress, and the death of the youthful martyr, are all illustrated. In these scenes we recognise Masolino's peculiar type of face and hands, as well as his usual treatment of draperies. The perspective of the buildings is more correct, the individual heads are full of character, and there is much charm in the figure of the youthful Saint, standing up to expound the Christian faith before the Emperor and his wise men. But the greatest triumph of Masolino's art is the large Crucifixion on the wall over the altar. It is impossible to look at this imposing scene without thinking that the original conception must have been due to Masaccio, and that Masolino must have had some cartoon by the dead artist's hand to be his guide. The wide landscape with its low range of hills and sea-shore, the three crosses rising against the sky, the animated crowd of horsemen and soldiers in the foreground, and the pathetic group of the holy women, all help to make up a singularly noble and striking picture. Yet Masolino's peculiar types and mannerisms are to be seen here, especially in the faces of the women and in the action of the kneeling Magdalen. And as Dr. Wickhoff points

out, the armed riders and horses, and the effect of light on the distant sea recall the style of another artist, the great Veronese master, Pisanello, whose recent paintings in the Lateran must have been familiar to Masolino, and whose rare imaginative powers made a profound impression on many of his contemporaries.

Another work which Masolino probably executed during this visit to Rome, although at an earlier date than the S. Clemente frescoes, is the altar-piece, now at Naples, in which the foundation of a church, the Madonna of the Snows, by Pope Martin V. is represented, and the Madonna appears above, encircled by an almond-shaped glory of angels. Enrico di Allosio only became Cardinal of S. Clemente in 1446, so that if Masolino painted the frescoes in the basilica by his order, he was already sixty-three. His death seems to have taken place soon afterwards, and it is not unlikely that he is the artist named Tommaso di Cristofano who was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore on the 18th of October, 1447. According to Vasari his chief works were painted about 1440, a statement which in itself is fairly correct, although it cannot be said to agree with the same writer's assertion that he died at thirty-seven. But incorrect as is Vasari's chronology, his remarks on Masolino's style are remarkably just, and he gives this master full credit for his share in the new movement. "Masolino," he writes, "was a man of rare intelligence, and his paintings are executed with great love and diligence. I have often examined his works, and find his style to be essentially different from that of those who came before him. He gave

majesty to his figures, and introduced finely designed folds in his draperies. He began to understand light and shade, and to give his forms relief, and succeeded in some very difficult foreshortenings. He also gave greater sweetness of expression to his women-heads, and gayer costumes to his young men, and his perspective is tolerably correct. But above all he excelled in fresco-painting. This he did so well, and with such delicately blending colours, that his flesh tones have the utmost softness imaginable, and if he could have drawn more perfectly, he would deserve to be numbered among the best artists."

CHIEF WORKS—

Castiglione d'Olona.—*Church:* Frescoes—Life of the Virgin, and Lives of St. Stephen and St. Laurence, 1428.

" *Baptistery:* Life of the Baptist, 1435.

Naples.—*Museo:* 25. Madonna and Christ in Glory; 34. Foundation of the Church of La Madonna della Neve by Pope Martin V.

Rome.—*S. Clemente:* Frescoes—Lives of S. Katharine of Alexandria and St. Ambrose; Crucifixion.

Bremen.—*Kunsthalle:* 164. Madonna, 1423.

Munich.—*Pinacothek:* 1019. Madonna and Angels.

Gosford House.—Annunciation.

Empoli.—*Duomo:* Fresco—Pietà.

" *S. Stefano:* Fresco—Madonna and Child, with Angels.

V

MASACCIO

1401–1428

"AFTER the days of Giotto, painting declined again, because every one imitated the pictures that were already in existence, and thus it went on until Tommaso of Florence, surnamed Masaccio, showed by his perfect works how they who take any teacher but Nature—the mistress of all masters—labour in vain." In these words Leonardo expressed his sense of Masaccio's greatness, and showed how correctly he estimated this master's position in Florentine art. For this youth, who died at twenty-six, and never succeeded in attaining ease or fortune in his lifetime, brought to art a genius as rare as Giotto's, a gift as divine as that of Raphael. During the few short years that he lived, harassed with debts and crippled by poverty, he altered the whole course of Florentine painting, and left a heritage of immortal works to be the school of great masters in future generations.

The little certain information that we have regarding Masaccio's history is due to the famous law first proposed by Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Niccolo di Uzzano, and sanctioned by the Signory in 1427, by which every Florentine citizen was required to make a declaration of his property and income, and to pay a tax of half

per cent. on his capital. Large deductions were allowed for debts and charges on property, and shops, dwelling-houses and furniture were exempt. The *Catasto*, or register drawn up in 1427, remained in force during three years, and was then revised. By this means much valuable information concerning painters of the fifteenth century has been preserved, and in Masaccio's case we learn the date of his birth and death, as well as the few other details about his circumstances that have come down to us.

Tommaso, the son of Ser Giovanni, a humble notary of the parish of Castel S. Giovanni in Val d'Arno, was born in that village, on the Feast of St. Thomas, December 21, 1401, and named after the Apostle. He took delight in drawing from his childhood, and in Vasari's days some of Masaccio's early artistic efforts were still to be seen in his native village. Art absorbed him wholly, even in those early years. "He was," writes Vasari, "so entirely rapt in his art, and devoted his thoughts and soul so absolutely to this one object, that he cared little for himself, and still less for others. And since he would never pay any attention to his temporal affairs, and hardly took the trouble to clothe himself, and never tried to recover his debts until he was reduced to the last extremity, he received the nickname of Masaccio, not on account of his bad disposition, for he was good-nature itself, and was always ready to render others a service, but because of this excessive negligence." Vasari's statement is borne out by Masaccio's income-tax return of 1427, in which he describes himself and his younger brother Giovanni, also a painter by profession, as living in Florence with their widowed mother,

in a house for which they pay a rent of ten florins. Tommaso is twenty-five, Giovanni twenty, and their mother forty-five years of age. Their whole fortune is returned as six soldi, while their liabilities are described as numerous and heavy. Tommaso pays two florins a year for a shop which he rents with another artist from the Badia of Florence, and owes 102 *lire* to the painter Niccolò di Lapo, six florins to the gold-beater, Piero, and six florins to his assistant Andrea di Giusto. Besides which four florins are due to the brokers at the sign of the "Lion and the Cow," for goods pawned at different times. The painter's mother ought to receive a dowry of 100 florins a year, as well as the produce of a vineyard belonging to a house at Castel San Giovanni, from the heirs of her second husband; but neither the amount of the rent, nor the sum of the vineyard can be declared, since her sons are ignorant of both, and their mother does not receive the rent, or inhabit the house. Such was the conditions of Masaccio's financial affairs at a time when he was the foremost painter of his age, and had probably just finished the frescoes of the Carmine. Yet he had rapidly risen to fame, and his talent had been soon recognised. In 1421, he matriculated in the Painters' Guild, two years before his master Masolino, and, in 1424, he joined the Company of St. Luke. By this time he was already employed as Masolino's assistant in the Brancacci Chapel, and when in the following year that master went to Hungary, was left to finish the work alone. The close friendship which bound him to Brunellesco and Donatello was productive of great and enduring results, and his one aim was to apply their principles

to painting. "From the first," says Vasari, "he realised that painting is nothing else but the simple imitation of natural objects in drawing and colour, and by unwearied study he overcame the difficulties and imperfections of art. He was the first to give his figures beautiful attitudes, natural movement, vivacity of expression, and a relief similar to reality. Instead of representing figures standing on tiptoe, as his predecessors had done, he placed their feet firmly on the ground and foreshortened them properly, and he understood perspective so well that he could apply it to every variety of view. He was careful to make the colour of his draperies agree with the tones of his flesh, and gave them the same few and simple folds that we see in nature. And it may be truly said that the things that were done before his time can be called paintings, but that his works are life, truth and nature."

But with this new realism Masaccio combined a dramatic sense, a feeling for beauty and a grandeur of conception worthy of Giotto himself. It is the presence of these lofty qualities, together with his wonderful advance in scientific knowledge, in perspective and chiaroscuro, that make the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel an epoch in art. The first fresco of the series was the Fall of Man, which adorns the pilaster at the entrance of the chapel, and, as might be expected, is the most in Masolino's style. Indeed the face of Eve and the action of the hands are so exactly in that master's manner, that we are inclined to think the original design was by his hand, as may well be the case. But even here there is more roundness, and solid relief than in any of the Castiglione

frescoes, and the execution seems to be that of his pupil. The same type of head appears again in the small subject of Peter Preaching, but the broad and single folds of the drapery and the admirable distribution of light and shade are more in Masaccio's style. The scholar, it is clear, gains confidence at every step, and in the third fresco he rises to new heights and reveals himself as a strong and independent master. This large subject, which includes the Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, and the Raising of Tabitha, has a dignity and beauty of composition to which Masolino never attained. The two Florentine youths, it is true, closely resemble Salome's supporters in the Baptistery paintings, of which they were probably the prototypes, but these pictures are more natural and animated, and the atmospheric perspective of the Piazza and distant houses is superior to anything in the Castiglione frescoes. We recognise Masaccio's hand in the deep-set eyes and ample brows of St. Peter and St. John, and in the fine effect of chiaroscuro, which help to render the waking of Tabitha to life so impressive. It is, we repeat, impossible to suppose that Masolino painted this noble composition after the Castiglione frescoes, which, with all their naïve charm and sincerity, are distinctly Giottesque and archaic in character.

There is, however, a marked change in Masaccio's next frescoes, which were probably painted at a later period. During the interval the young artist may have been engaged on some of the many works which he executed in churches of Florence and Pisa. The great St. Paul which he painted on the wall near the belfry of the Carmine, perished long

ago, and so too has the wonderful chiaroscuro picture of the consecration of the church, in which he introduced portraits of his friends Donatello and Brunellesco, his master Masolino, Giovanni de' Medici, and many other Florentines. One of the few still in existence is the Madonna and St. Anne, in the Accademia, an altar-piece of early date, which has still much in common with Masolino, but which is too finely modelled for any doubt to have been entertained as to its authorship. Another work, which deserves the high praise bestowed upon it by Vasari, is the fresco of the Trinity on the entrance wall of Santa Maria Novella. This magnificent work was long hidden by a picture of Vasari's own painting, which has now been removed, and can only be properly seen when the great central doors of the church are thrown open. A majestic God the Father bearing the Cross on which Christ hangs, with the dove hovering about his head, while the Virgin, an elderly matron of noble aspect, and a youthful St. John gaze in deep, calm sorrow on their dying Lord. The form of the Crucified Christ is drawn with all Donatello's skill and science, while the Corinthian pillars and stately proportions of the classical architecture which frames in the whole, heightens the solemn effect of the vision, and two admirable portraits of the kneeling donors, a middle-aged man and woman of the higher class, are introduced in the foreground.

Some fragments of the altar-piece which Masaccio painted for the Church of the Carmine at Pisa, in 1427, are still in existence. A St. Andrew, with deep-set eyes and high forehead, like the Apostles in the Brancacci Chapel, is in a private collection

at Vienna, while the Berlin Museum has acquired the predella of the Adoration of the Magi and Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist, a set of little pictures of great interest as examples of the painter's more fanciful and imaginative treatment. In the same lighter and more humorous vein is another small panel at Berlin, one of the painted birth-plates, or *desco da parto*, which it was the fashion to send with fruits and cakes and other presents to Florentine mothers on the birth of a child. The happy mother is seen lying in bed, attended by a sour-looking old nurse, while two servants are seen arriving in the courtyard with a birth-plate and gifts in their hands, and two young heralds, blowing trumpets and bearing the lilies of Florence on their banner, announce the arrival of some visitor of importance. It is a delightful little bit of genre painting, in which Masaccio displays his skill in chiaroscuro and perspective, in one of those cleverly sketched interiors of which Vasari speaks, and at the same time excites our admiration by the "vivacity" of his heads and "beautiful alacrity of gesture and expression." And it acquires additional interest from the fact that a *desco da parto* is mentioned in Lorenzo de' Medici's inventory as being the work of Masaccio.

But we must turn to the six frescoes, which Masaccio executed during the last years of his life, in the Brancacci Chapel, and which are universally recognised to be his work. On the left pilaster at the entrance he painted the Expulsion from Paradise as a companion picture to the Fall of Adam and Eve, on the opposite wall. The extra-

THE EXPULSION FROM PARADISE.

(BRANCACCI CHAPEL)—MASACCIO.

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ordinary progress made by the artist during the interval which had elapsed since he finished the first subject, is apparent to all. Then he was the young and inexperienced student, carrying out his master's ideas, and only timidly venturing on innovations and improvements of his own. Now he had mastered the problems of anatomy and perspective, and was able to give complete expression to his dreams. It is a strangely moving scene, this picture of our first parents driven out of Eden, and dragging their weary limbs along under the burden of their despair, while the stern Angel hovers above with bared sword, and points to the wide and desolate world before them. The nude forms are drawn with easy mastery, and the contrast between the passionate wail of the woman and silent despair of the man is nobly conceived and finely rendered. No wonder Raphael was fascinated by the sight, and when he came to illustrate the same story in the Vatican Loggia, could find no better or more satisfying conception than this which Masaccio had imagined eighty years before.

The smaller frescoes on the altar and wall represent St. Peter and St. John distributing alms and healing the sick, and St. Peter baptizing. Here the consciousness of a divine mission is suggested in the majestic bearing of the Apostle, who moves among the lame and halt, healing them by the passing of his shadow, without even reaching out his hand. Unlike the later Giotteschi, Masaccio never introduces a single superfluous figure in his compositions but, as in Giotto's works, each actor plays an important part in the development of the action. The

poor mother and child begging for alms, in the one subject, the lame beggar in the other, the famous shivering youth standing on the brink of Jordan, and the still finer figure of the boy who kneels to receive baptism, are admirable examples of successful realism. The difficult perspective of the steep street in the background of St. Peter giving alms, is not quite correctly rendered, but is interesting as a proof of the artist's eagerness to grapple with new problems, even when they were beyond his grasp. On the other hand, the hilly landscape on the banks of Jordan is charmingly painted, and shows his accuracy of observation and genuine delight in natural beauty. These qualities are still further developed in the large fresco of the Tribute Money, on the left-hand wall, which Vasari justly pronounced to be Masaccio's master-piece. Here we see the great painter in the fulness of his powers. Three separate scenes are introduced, but are happily combined by the skilful management of the architecture and the beautiful landscape which forms the setting of the picture. The chief incident, St. Peter's dispute with the tax-gatherer and appeal to Christ, occupies the centre, while the minor incidents of Peter taking the coin from the mouth of the fish, and delivering it to the collector, are kept in the background, and not allowed to interfere with the main subject. Nothing can exceed the dramatic force with which the story is told. The eager insistence with which the tax-collector urges his claim, the indignation of Peter and the surprise of the Apostles at the command of Christ, are all vividly painted. Equally striking is the action of Peter as, his face flushed with the

exertion, he takes the coin from the mouth of the fish, and the air of mingled dignity and contempt with which he hands the money to the extortionate official. The superb modelling of the heads, the admirable foreshortening of the figures, and the skilful distribution of light and shade all excite our admiration. But the finest thing in the picture is the calm and majestic form of Christ, and the quiet authority of his manner, as with outstretched arms he turns to Peter and utters his word of command. Few figures in Italian art have ever rivalled this conception, and when in his cartoons Raphael had a similar scene to represent, he went back to Masaccio once more for his inspiration.

Masaccio had already introduced his master Masolino's portrait in the fresco of the Apostle Healing the Sick, and now he painted his own likeness in the young apostle standing next to the portico on the right of the tax-gatherer, "a form so life-like," says Vasari, "that it seems to live and breathe."

The last subject of the series is the Raising of the King's Son, a miracle recorded in the Golden Legend. The scene is laid in the court of the king's palace at Antioch, and St. Paul is in the act of bidding the dead child arise, in the presence of his father Theophilus, who is seated on his throne. Masaccio left this fresco unfinished, and the group of spectators on the left was chiefly painted by Filippino sixty years later; but we recognise Masaccio's hand in the central portion of the subject, and the figure of St. Peter receiving the homage of the king and his courtiers, as related in the Golden Legend. The design of the whole composition is evidently due to him, and the skill with which he

has kept the two subjects apart by throwing a strong light on the enthroned Apostle and keeping the scene of the miracle in shadow, is very characteristic.

In spite of his distinguished friends and growing fame, the painter of the Brancacci Chapel, we are told by Vasari, was ill at ease in Florence, a fact which is hardly surprising if we remember the state of his affairs towards the end of 1427. Whether his creditors became more pressing, or whether he was fired by a sudden wish to see the wonders of the Eternal City, from which his friend Brunellesco had lately returned, he broke off his work abruptly, and left Florence early in the following year. After that we hear no more of him, and all we have is the brief entry under his name, in the register of 1429. "*Dicesi morto a Roma*"—"He is said to have died in Rome." The statement is confirmed by the income-tax return of his old creditor Niccolò di Lapo, from which we learn that in 1430, the heirs of Tommaso di San Giovanni still owed him sixty-eight florins, but that since the painter died in Rome and left nothing to his brother, the debt is not likely to be recovered. Both Vasari and Landini, who wrote in 1481, say that Masaccio died at the age of twenty-six, and a contemporary, Antonio Manetti, notes down a remark made by the painter's brother, who told him that Masaccio was born on the Feast of St. Thomas 1401, and died when he was about twenty-seven. He had been little known and little honoured in his life, but after his death all men remembered him. Brunellesco wept bitterly for his friend, and lamented the grievous loss which art had suffered in his premature end. "And the most celebrated painters and sculptors," writes Vasari, "became excellent and

famous by studying the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel; and not only Florentines, but foreigners from other lands and cities came there to learn the principles of their art." So that it may truly be said of Masaccio, that he stands half-way between Giotto and Raphael, and was the heir of one, and the teacher of the other great master.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—*Accademia:* 73. Madonna and Child with St. Anne.

,, *Carmine: Brancacci Chapel:* Frescoes—Fall of Adam and Eve, Expulsion from Paradise, St. Peter Preaching, Raising of Tabitha, St. Peter and St. John Healing the Sick with their Shadows, Distributing Alms, St. Peter Baptising, Raising of the King's Son (in part).

,, *S. Maria Novella:* Fresco — Trinity, Madonna, St. John, and Donors.

Berlin.—*Gallery:* 58A. Adoration of Magi; 58B. Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. John; 58C. A Birth-Plate; 58D. Four Saints.

Pisa.—*Gallery: Sala VI.:* 27. St. Paul (formerly in *Butler Collection*).

Naples.—Crucifixion.

Vienna.—*Count Lanckoronski:* St. Andrew.

Boston, U.S.A.—*Mrs J. L. Gardner:* Portrait of Young Man.

Brant-Broughton, Newark. — *Rev. A. Sutton:* Madonna and Child, with four Angels.

VI

FRA ANGELICO

1387–1455

THE revived study of antiquity which had taken so deep a root in Florence, soon began to exert its influence upon the development of painting ; but during the first half of the fifteenth century, Christian traditions remained supreme in art, modified as they were by the closer study of nature and broader conceptions of human life that prevailed. Even the Platonic philosophy, which found so congenial a home among the humanists of the Medici's immediate circle, tended towards Christian idealism, and men like Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola were at pains to prove that the doctrines of Christ and Plato were one and the same. With all their love of pleasure, the Florentines were essentially a serious, deep-thinking race ; and never were ideas more freely expressed in art, never were sculptors and painters more profoundly influenced by religious motives, than at this period. The expression of thought and emotion, rather than perfection of form, was Donatello's aim, and the purest spiritual feeling animated Luca della Robbia's art. Above all, it was in the work of a contemporary painter and a *protégé* of the Medici, the Dominican artist, Fra Angelico, that the deepest mysteries and highest

aspirations of Christian truth found their most complete and beautiful expression.

All the mystic thought of the mediæval world, the passionate love of God and man that beat in the heart of St. Francis, the yearnings of Dante's soul after a higher and more perfect order, the poetic dreams of the monks who sang of the Celestial Country, are embodied in the art of Angelico. The depth and sincerity of his own religious feeling lent wings to his imagination, and the exquisite purity of his soul breathes in every line of his painting. It is the intensity of his own love and sorrow that weeps with Dominic at the foot of the Cross, or gazes with Francis in unspeakable longing on his dying Lord: it is his own sweet and gentle fancy that brings down these enchanted visions of Paradise. Vasari's eloquent language shows how profound was the impression made upon his age by this friar, whose saintly life was reflected in his works, and whose simple and child-like faith supplied the inspiration of his art.

"This truly angelic father spent his whole life in the service of God and his fellow-creatures. He was a man of simple habits, and most saintly in all his ways. He kept himself from all worldliness, and was so good a friend to the poor that I think his soul must be already in heaven. He worked continually at his art, but would never paint anything excepting sacred subjects. He might have been a wealthy man, but he did not care for money, and used to say that true riches consist in being content with little. He might have enjoyed high dignities, both in his convent and in the world, but he cared nothing for these things, saying that he who would practise painting has need of quiet, and should

be free from worldly cares, and that he who would do the work of Christ must live continually with him. He was never known to be impatient with the brothers—a thing to me almost incredible! and when people asked him for a picture, always replied that with the Prior's approval he would try and satisfy their wishes. He never corrected or re-touched his works, but left them as he first painted them, saying that such was the will of God. He never took his pencil up without a prayer, and could not paint a Crucifixion without the tears running down his cheeks. And the saints which he painted are more like saints in face and expression than those of any other master. And since it seemed that saints and angels of beauty so divine could only be painted by the hand of an angel, he was always called Fra Angelico."

But although this angelic painter—*Angelicus Pictor*, as he is termed by a Prior of Santa Maria Novella, who wrote in his life-time—was in sympathy with many forms of mediæval thought, it would be a mistake to suppose that he was a reactionary who carried on Giottesque traditions into the fifteenth century. When he entered the Dominican Order, at twenty, he had already served his apprenticeship in Starnina's shop, and had been closely associated with the leaders of the new movement. The sculptor Nanni di Banco, the precursor of Donatello and assistant of Brunellesco, was his intimate friend, and through him the young painter must early have been familiar with the aims and ideas of these men. At the same time he was brought into contact with Lorenzo Monaco, whose methods of colouring he adopted, and whose example may have decided him to enter the cloister.

Fra Angelico was born in 1387, at Vicchio, in Val

Mugello, not far from Giotto's home. His real name was Guido, but when, in 1407, he took the vows and entered the convent of Fiesole, he became known as Fra Giovanni. His younger brother Benedetto, who joined the Dominican Order on the same day, was not an artist but a skilled penman, who wrote out chaunts and services in the Office-books of the convent, and was Prior of San Marco when he died in 1448. The two brothers were sent to spend their noviciate at the Dominican house of Cortona. Here they were joined a year later by the whole community, who left Fiesole by night, and remained in exile during the next ten years, rather than acknowledge the schismatic Pope Alexander V., whose claims were supported by the Signory of Florence. During these ten years Fra Angelico painted a series of frescoes in the convent at Cortona, which were destroyed during the French occupation, as well as several altar-pieces. Three of these are still in existence: a Madonna and Saints, and a delicately coloured predella of the miracles of St. Nicholas at Perugia, another Madonna in S. Domenico, and the Annunciation in the Gesù at Cortona. In these Angelico shows himself to be the ablest and most advanced of all Starnina's scholars. The perspective of his buildings and the proportions of his figures are decidedly better than those of Masolino's Castiglione frescoes, while the shimmering gold of his glories and the decorative splendour of his draperies recall Lorenzo Monaco. Both of these monastic painters are remarkable for the brilliancy of their colour and extraordinary richness of their gilding. They gave their best to God, and spared neither time nor pains to make their offering worthy

of the sacrifice. In this Annunciation, Angelico's first version of his favourite subject, the Angel's wings are gold tipped with ruby light, and his robe is a marvel of decorative beauty, studded all over with little tongues of flame, and embroidered with mystic patterns. Like the Camaldoli friar, he had a genuine love of nature, and beyond the graceful columns of the classic portico where Gabriel alights and the startled Virgin drops her book, we see the ripe pomegranates hanging on the trees, and the pinks and roses flowering in the grass, while a view of Lake Thrasymene, as seen from Cortona, is introduced in the Visitation of the predella. Although during these ten years Angelico was away from Florence, and could not profit by the rapid advance that was being daily made by artists in every direction, it is clear that he had already assimilated many of the new ideas of the Quattrocento, and stood in the front rank of living masters.

In 1418, the papal schism was ended by the election of Martin V., and the Dominicans returned to their old home at the foot of the hill of Fiesole. From that time Fra Angelico worked with untiring industry at his art, and painted most of the altar-pieces which have made his name famous for the churches and convents of Florence. A ruined fresco of the Crucifixion and a Madonna, partly restored by Lorenzo di Credi, are the only fragments of his work now to be seen at S. Domenico of Fiesole; but the lovely predella of Christ in Glory formerly attached to this picture, now hangs in the National Gallery, and the Coronation, which hung over a side altar in the convent church, is one of the glories of the Louvre. In this last-named

work Angelico has lavished the richest ornament and the most radiant colour on the angels who stand before the throne, each with a spark of fire on his forehead and glittering stars on his purple wings. The broad flight of steps leading up to the throne of Christ heightens the solemnity of the imposing ceremonial, and the long sweep of the Virgin's flowing mantle gives an air of youthful charm and lovely humility to her kneeling form. Foremost among the hosts of the blessed are St. Louis, with crown and fleur-de-lis, St. Thomas Aquinas, with rays of light issuing from his book, St. Dominic, with the star on his brow and the lily in his hand, fixing his eyes in adoring love on the face of Mary ; and on the right a group of virgin-martyrs—Agnes with her white lamb, Katharine with her wheel, and Magdalen in red robes, with long yellow locks, and the vase of precious ointment in her hand. "So, and no otherwise, do the blessed saints appear," exclaims Vasari, in his enthusiasm, "could we see them in their place in Heaven! But the expression on their faces and the colour of their robes could only be painted by a saint or angel like themselves!" The employment of flat tones and pure colour, the absence of shadow and lavish use of gold with which Angelico seeks to represent the glories of heaven, give the picture a primitive air ; but the carefully thought-out space-construction and structure of the figures show a degree of scientific knowledge little inferior to Masaccio's own. Another smaller, but hardly less beautiful, Coronation was painted by Fra Angelico for the hospital of S. Maria Nuova—an institution closely connected with the Dominicans of San Marco—and is now in the Uffizi. Here we have

the same bright seraphin, with flower-like faces and rainbow wings, the same shadowless draperies and glories of burnished gold. But the Madonna is throned at her Son's side in a blaze of light, and angels dance on the rosy clouds, and swing censers or play the harp and organ at her feet.

Another subject which Fra Angelico often repeated was the Last Judgment. One version which he painted for Lorenzo Monaco's convent of the Angeli is now in the Accademia; another passed from the collection of Cardinal Fesch into that of Lord Dudley, and is now at Berlin. These pictures show at once the limitations and the rare qualities of the saintly Dominican's art. The passions and emotions of ordinary humanity lay beyond the guarded precincts of convent life, and stirred no interest in his breast. He would have had no compassion for Francesca's sorrow or Paolo's love, and his rendering of the solemn Dies Iræ, with the grotesque little demons dragging sinners down to hell-fires, fails to inspire us with either pity or terror. But Dante's dream of the happy spirits who circle hand in hand on the flowery meadows of Paradise has never been more perfectly realised than in Angelico's pictures. This is the *Urbs beata* of the mediæval poet's song, the heavenly Jerusalem where the walls are made of jasper, and the light streams from the golden gates. There the leaf never withers and the flowers never fade. There none are sick and none are sad. The mourner's tears are dried, and the lost and loved are found again. There friends long parted clasp hands once more, and angels welcome holy souls to their embrace; while lilies and roses, daisies and bluebells, blossom in the shining grass,

and in the words of the Franciscan poet, Jacopone da Todi: "*Tutti danzan per amore.*"

Yet more famous is the Tabernacle which Angelico painted in 1433, for the Guild of Linen Merchants. The colossal Virgin and Child in the central panel were ill-suited to his style of art, and lack the inspired grandeur of Giotto or Orcagna, but the twelve seraphs playing lute and viol, or sounding trumpets and cymbals on the wings, are among his most popular creations. Even here, however, he is less at home than in his smaller works, such as the reliquaries with Madonnas and Annunciations which he painted for Santa Maria Novella, and which are now preserved in San Marco. The same charming fancy and jewel-like finish mark the predellas which he executed, such as the Sposalizio and Death of the Virgin, in the Uffizi, or the Christ in Glory of the National Gallery. Even when the theme is one of death and bloodshed, he tells the tale with such naïve sincerity and rare beauty of expression, that we forget the horror of the scene, and only realise the martyr's triumph. In his Death of St. Mark, in the Accademia, or Beheading of Cosimo and Damiano, in the Louvre, he enlivens the subject with picturesque details of costume or architecture, and introduces tall cypresses and castellated walls on the green hillside behind the executioner, in the act of swinging his sword to strike off the Saint's head. In his lovely picture of the Meeting of Francis and Dominic, at Berlin, Angelico has, by a happy inspiration, placed the scene in front of the church of Assisi, and introduced the fair Tiber valley and steep ridge of Monte Subasio in the distance. No

doubt these regions were familiar to him during the years that he spent at Cortona, and, although a friar of the rival Order, no painter had a deeper reverence for St. Francis, or was inspired with a larger share of his tender love and glowing devotion than Fra Angelico. The frequent repetition on these small panels of the story of Cosimo and Damiano is explained by the fact that these Saints were patrons of the Medici family, whose chief representative, Cosimo, had been one of Fra Giovanni's earliest patrons. After his return from exile in 1434, one of Cosimo de' Medici's first acts was to obtain the convent of San Marco for the Dominicans of Fiesole, and to employ his favourite architect, Michelozzo, to rebuild this ancient house of the Silvestrine monks. In 1436, the friars took possession of their new home, and Fra Angelico began the great work of his life, the decoration of the convent-walls.

The Chapter-house contains the large Crucifixion which, in spite of the injuries it has suffered, and of the total disappearance of the once blue sky, is still one of the most impressive pictures in the world. The death of Christ on the Cross is here represented, not as an historical event, but as a sacred mystery for the devout contemplation of the Christian believer, and the favourite Florentine Saints and founders of religious orders are introduced among the spectators. On the left we have first the traditional group of the fainting Virgin, supported by the Maries and St. John ; then the Baptist and St. Mark, the protectors of the city and convent, and Cosimo and Damiano, the patrons of the Medici. On the right, Dominic kneels with outstretched arms at the

foot of the Cross, and St. Zenobius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Benedict, St. Francis, St. Bernard, S. Giovanni Gualberto, the founder of Vallombrosa, S. Romualdo the hermit, and St. Thomas Aquinas and S. Pietro Martire, stand or kneel in different attitudes of adoration. There is no attempt at dramatic representation, but every phase of devotion is set forth with Angelico's habitual mastery of expression, and the silent passion of love and yearning in the eyes of Francis is finely contrasted with S. Damiano's uncontrollable burst of anguish. In the venerable form of S. Cosimo, clad in deacon's dalmatic, we recognise the portrait of Angelico's friend, the sculptor Nanni di Banco, who had died nearly twenty years before.

In the cloisters, Fra Angelico painted smaller frescoes of the chief Dominican Saints, and above the Forestiera, where travellers were entertained, he set a beautiful lunette of Christ, the yellow-haired Stranger, with pilgrim's staff and goat-skin, being welcomed by two Dominican brothers, with the inscription: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." The cells on the upper floor, formerly occupied by the monks, are decorated with sacred subjects, chiefly scenes from the life of Christ, intended to assist the devout meditation of the brothers. Many of these were hastily painted, and some are executed by the hand of inferior assistants, while all are badly injured; but they still retain a great measure of Angelico's peculiar charm. The study of the nude was unknown to him, and in knowledge of the human form he remains far behind

Masaccio; but his quick perception and inborn sense of beauty of line to a great extent supply the lack of actual knowledge, while his elevation of thought and rare powers of expression are never absent. In the corridor at the head of the stairs is a fresco of the Annunciation, with a Latin inscription inviting all passers-by to say an Ave to the Blessed Mother. Here the slender Corinthian columns of the open loggia were evidently suggested by Michelozzo's newly-built portico of the Annunziata Church, and through the graceful arches we look out on the convent garden, with daisies in the grass and rose-bushes and tall cypresses behind its wooden paling. The Angel stands with outspread wings as if but just alighted on the ground, and fixes his eyes intently on the Virgin's face as he delivers his message. His pink robe is edged with gold, and the feathers of his wings are delicately tinted with soft hues of rose and violet, green and yellow. Mary, draped in a long blue mantle and white robe, and seated on a rough wooden stool, folds her hands meekly on her breast, and looks up with sudden awe and wonder at the heavenly messenger. Yet another Annunciation of rare beauty and deep spiritual meaning may be seen in one of the cells on this floor. Here we have neither loggia nor garden, only the bare walls of the cell, while the white-robed Angel stands erect on the threshold, and the Virgin bending in lowly self-oblation, as if offering her whole being in glad obedience to his word. In the scenes of the Childhood and Ministry, the traditional type is generally followed, with a few variations prompted by the painter's tender feeling. A large Adoration

ANNUNCIATION (SAN MARCO)—FRA ANGELICO.

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of the Magi, with horses and camels in the procession, adorns the cell reserved by Cosimo de' Medici for his private use, in order that the great ruler might have this example of the Eastern Kings laying down their crowns at the manger of Bethlehem constantly before his eyes. The Virgin, to whom the Dominican Order paid especial devotion, is introduced in most of the scenes, while St. Dominic is often seen in the corner, devoutly meditating on the Christian mysteries set forth in the picture. The luminous clouds which encircle the form of the newly-baptised Christ deepen the significance of the event, and the lofty stature and outstretched arms of the Master lifted high above the mount, lend a new and impressive meaning to the Apostles' Vision of the Transfiguration. In the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, Fra Angelico departs from the Giottesque tradition of the Last Supper, and adopts an old Byzantine form, rarely seen in Italian art, to which he gives a solemn pathos and beauty of the highest spiritual order. In the Agony, Martha and Mary are watching and praying in Gethsemane, while the Apostles slumber, and in the Mocking and Crowning with Thorns, only the hands of the soldiers are seen, while Dominic and the Virgin are introduced in the foreground. The rush of the spirits in prison to meet their deliverer in his Descent into Hades is rendered with a power and movement to which Angelico does not often attain, while the story of the Resurrection has seldom been more simply and touchingly told than in this picture of the white-robed Angel pointing heavenwards, as he tells the mournful Maries that their Lord is risen, and in the dim twilight of the Easter morning

the Christ is seen floating upwards with the flag of victory in his hand.

The great advance that marks these frescoes, both in conception and execution, is still more apparent in the noble altar-piece of the Descent from the Cross, which Angelico painted about the year 1440, for the Church of the Trinità. Here the fine drawing of the dead Christ, and the difficult foreshortening of the disciples who lower the body from the Cross, show how much the painter had learnt from the attentive study of Masaccio's works; and sadly as the harmony of the colour has been marred by restoration, nothing can impair the beauty of the conception—the reverent tenderness of the disciples, or the deep repose of the dead Christ, with the words, "*Corona gloriæ*" inscribed above his brow. As usual in Angelico's pictures, the scene of suffering and death is surrounded with loveliness. Bright flowers spring up in the grass at the foot of the Cross, glittering seraphs hover in the air, and between the tall pines and cypresses we see, on one side, the towers and battlements of Florence, on the other, the green slopes and wooded hills of Vallombrosa, in the rich glow of the evening light. The portrait of Angelico's friend, Michelozzo, the architect of San Marco, may be recognized in the middle-aged man in the black cap, seated on a step of the ladder; and the pilasters of the richly-carved frame are decorated with exquisitely-painted figures of Dominican and Vallombrosan saints. But the three paintings of Resurrection subjects on the Gothic pinnacles in the upper part are the work of Lorenzo Monaco, who died long before the picture was painted, and were

evidently fitted on to the frame at some later period.

All of these works must have been finished by the end of 1446, when Pope Eugenius IV.—who had visited Florence, and stayed at San Marco for the dedication of the convent, four years before—summoned Fra Angelico to Rome, to paint a chapel in St. Peter's. Shortly before he left Florence, the painter probably began the interesting series of small panels for the presses of the altar-plate in a chapel, endowed by Cosimo's son, Piero de' Medici, in the Annunziata, in the year 1448. These charming little pictures of the life of Christ, so original in their conception, so full of quaint and picturesque touches, were only partly executed by Angelico, and the hand of many different scholars and assistants may be traced in the later subjects, while three panels were certainly the work of Alesso Baldovinetti.

Soon after Fra Angelico's arrival in Rome, the Pope died, but his successor, Nicholas V., who had held the office of librarian to Cosimo de' Medici, induced the painter to continue his work, and the Vatican records contain an entry of payments made, in May 1447, to Fra Giovanni of Florence, at the rate of 200 gold ducats a year, for work in a chapel of St. Peter's, executed by him and his assistant, Benozzo, together with four other artists, since the 13th of March. By June the decoration of the chapel was completed, and Fra Angelico accepted an invitation from the Directors of the Cathedral works at Orvieto, to spend the summer months in that city, and paint the newly-erected Chapel of S. Brizio. For this he

was to receive a salary of 200 ducats, seven ducats a month for his assistant Benozzo, and three ducats each for his apprentices, as well as lodging, bread and wine, and the cost of scaffolding and colour. In fulfilment of this contract, Angelico remained at Orvieto till the 28th of September, and, with Benozzo's help, painted the groups of prophets and Christ in Glory on the triangular compartments of the chapel roof. Then he returned to Rome, where he spent the next three years in decorating the Pope's Oratory (or Studio, as it is called in the Vatican records), with scenes from the life of St. Stephen and of St. Laurence. These frescoes, which Fra Angelico painted when he was over sixty, reveal an extraordinary advance, not only in technical skill, chiaroscuro and modelling, but in freedom and dramatic power. The sight of the Eternal City, and the fresh experiences of these last years, had given the friar of San Marco a wider vision and more intimate knowledge of humanity than he had ever known before. The women and children who sit at the feet of Stephen, and listen to his impassioned words, the sick and lame who beg alms of Laurence, and the boys struggling playfully over the coins, have the old grace and charm, together with a life and animation that are altogether new. The classical details of the architecture, the stately columns and sculptured frieze, the statues and mouldings of the cornices, all bear witness to a close study of the antique models which Rome supplied in such abundance; while the landscape background of the Stoning of Stephen is an evident recollection of the hill country round Cortona, those familiar scenes of the Dominican master's youth,

which he had seen again on his way from Florence. Still more remarkable is the variety of type and individual character in these closing scenes of the Trial and Death of Stephen and Execution of Laurence. The bitter hatred on the faces of the Pharisees, the puzzled and suspicious look of the high priest, the curiosity of the spectators and indifference of the Roman soldiers, are all painted with a sympathy and insight that bring Fra Angelico before us in an entirely new light.

Unfortunately, these frescoes, which reveal the painter in the fulness of his powers, are the only works of his in Rome that have escaped destruction. The chapel which he decorated in the old basilica of St. Peter's, and the frescoes which he painted in the Dominican Church and Convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, have all perished, and this oratory of Pope Nicholas in the Vatican alone remains to show that the earlier art of Florence is not unworthy of a place by Raphael's Stanze.

In 1450, Fra Angelico returned to Florence, and in the following January became Prior of his old convent at Fiesole. He was still there in March 1452, when the citizens of Prato begged his friend, St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, to send the painter to decorate the choir of their parish church. Fra Angelico complied with their request, and was honourably conducted to Prato on the 29th of March. But at the end of a month he returned to Florence, and finally declined the commission. Probably he was recalled to Rome by the imperative command of the Pope. All we know is, that three years later, on the 18th of March 1455, he died in

Rome, and was buried in S. Maria sopra Minerva, where Pope Nicholas himself composed the Latin epitaph on his tomb.

HIC JACET VEN: PICTOR. FR: JOC. DE FLOR. ORD: PRED:
M.CCCC.LV.

Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe dabam,
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera cœlo;
Urbs me Joannem flos tulit Etruriæ.

"Not mine be the praise if I was another Apelles, but that I gave all I had to Thy poor, O Christ!

"That city which is the flower of Etruria bore me, Giovanni."

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia: 166. Descent from the Cross.
227. Madonna and six Saints.
234-237, 252-254. Panels of Life of Christ (in part).
240. Madonna.
243, 257, 258. Life of SS. Cosimo and Damiano.
246. Entombment.
250. Crucifixion.
251. Coronation of the Virgin.
265. Madonna and four Saints.
266. Last Judgment.
281. Madonna and eight Saints.
283. Pietà and Saints.

" *Uffizi:* 17. Madonna with Angels and Saints, 1433.
1162. Birth of St. John.
1178. Sposalizio.
1184. Death of the Virgin.
1290. Coronation of the Virgin.

" *Museum of S. Marco: Cloisters:* Frescoes—St. Peter Martyr, St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, Christ as Pilgrim, Pietà. *Chapter-House:* Crucifixion and Saints. *Corridor:* Annunciation, St. Dominic at foot of the Cross, Madonna and Saints. *Cells:* 1. Noli me Tangere; 2. Entombment; 3. Annunciation; 4. Crucifixion; 5. Nativity; 6. Transfiguration;

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Florence.—Museum of S. Marco: Cloisters: Frescoes (*continued*)—

7. Ecce Homo; 8. Resurrection; 9. Coronation; 10. Presentation; 11. Madonna and Saints; 15-23, 25, 37, 42, 43. Crucifixion; 24. Baptism; 26. Pietà; 28. Christ bearing the Cross; 31. Descent into Hades; 32. Sermon on the Mount; 33. Betrayal of Judas; 34. Agony in Gethsemane; 35. Institution of the Blessed Sacrament; 36. Nailing to the Cross; 38. Adoration of the Magi and Pietà.

" *S. Domenico of Fiesole:* Madonna and Saints, Fresco of Crucifixion.

Cortona.—S. Domenico: Madonna and Saints; *Gesù:* Annunciation and predella.

Orvieto.—Duomo: Frescoes—Last Judgment, Prophets and Angels (in part).

Parma.—Gallery: Sala III.: 25. Madonna and Saints.

Perugia.—Gallery: Sala V.: 1-18. Polyptych.

Pisa.—Sala VI.: 7. Salvator Mundi.

Rome.—Corsini Gallery: Sala VII· 22. Pentecost; 23. Last Judgment; 24. Resurrection.

" *Vatican Gallery:* Madonna and predella. *Chapel of Pope Nicholas V.:* Frescoes from Life of St. Stephen and St. Laurence.

Berlin.—Gallery: 60. Madonna and Saints; 60A. Last Judgment; 61. Meeting of SS. Dominic and Francis; 62. Triumph of St. Francis.

Boston, U.S.A.—Mrs J. L. Gardner: Death and Assumption of Virgin.

London.—National Gallery: 663. Christ in Glory.

Madrid.—Gallery: 14. Annunciation.

Munich.—Pinacothek: 989-991. Predella, SS. Cosimo and Damiano; 992. Entombment.

Oxford.—University Galleries: 5. Madonna and Saints.

Paris.—1290. Coronation of Virgin.
1293. Martyrdom of SS. Cosimo and Damiano.
1294. Fresco—Crucifixion.

St Petersburg.—Hermitage: 1674. Fresco—Madonna and Saints.

VII

PAOLO UCCELLO

1397–1475

WHILE Fra Angelico was giving expression to the ideals of a departing age in his paintings, a little band of Florentines were slowly working out the development of art on very different lines. The aim of these artists is set forth by a contemporary writer, the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti, in the following passage:—"I have always followed the study of the arts with great diligence and order. From my earliest days I have always tried to discover how Nature reveals herself in Art, and how I may best draw near to her; how forms really present themselves to the eye, and on what principles the arts of painting and sculpture should be practised." Foremost among the painters who devoted themselves to the presentation of natural objects was Paolo Uccello, the great student and teacher of linear perspective. Paolo di Dono was born in 1397, and was the son of a barber-surgeon of Pratovecchio, in the Casentino, who afterwards came to live in the quarter of S. Spirito in Florence. At ten years old Paolo entered the shop of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and attached himself to the little group of earnest workers and seekers after knowledge who numbered Donatello, Brunellesco and Masaccio in

their ranks. With Donatello he was especially intimate, and the portrait which he painted of the great sculptor, together with those of Giotto, Brunellesco, Antonio Manetti the mathematician, and his own were seen by Vasari in the house of Giuliano di Sangallo, and are now in the Louvre. Fired by the example of these men, Paolo devoted himself with ardour to the study of perspective, which absorbed his whole time and thoughts, and became the passion of his life. He would sit up half the night, studying rules of perspective and working out problems at his desk, and when his wife urged him to take a little rest, would only exclaim: "Oh! how sweet a thing is perspective!" Vasari describes him as a strange, eccentric being, who would live like a hermit for weeks and months without speaking to any one, and shrank from the sight of his fellow-creatures. Once when he was painting some frescoes for the Benedictines of San Miniato he disappeared altogether, and the more the monks tried to find him, the more persistently he eluded their search. At length, however, two of the monks, who were younger than the rest, caught sight of Paolo in the street, and, running after him, asked why he had left his work unfinished; upon which the shy painter told them that their Abbot had given him nothing but dishes made of cheese to eat, and that he felt sure if he stayed in their convent any longer he should be turned into cheese himself! The monks heard his story with peals of laughter, and left him with many assurances that he should be treated better in future, if he would only return and finish his frescoes. The result of this love of solitude and indifference to gain, Vasari tells us, was that he remained

poor and miserable all his life. But this statement is hardly correct, at least as regards the earlier part of his career; for, in 1434, Paolo bought a house in the Via della Scala for 100 florins, and six years later rented a shop and owned house-property and lands in Florence.

Paolo took great delight in painting animals of all kinds, especially birds, whose flight and movements he studied constantly, and drew so often, that he acquired the surname of Uccello. For the Medici he painted many animal subjects, amongst others, a battle of lions and serpents, which is mentioned as one of five large tempera pictures by his hand in the Magnificent Lorenzo's inventory. Three of the battle-pieces which were among the treasures of the Medici Palace are still in existence. As Mr. Horne has lately shown,[1] these pictures evidently represent the defeat of the Sienese at S. Romano in 1432. The finest and best preserved of the three is the panel now in the National Gallery. Niccolô da Tolentino, the Captain of the Florentines, mounted on a galloping white horse, and wearing a crimson mantle embroidered with gold, is a conspicuous figure in the *mêlée*. The ground at his feet is strewn with dead corpses and broken lances, while between flashing spears and gleaming helmets we see the blossoming roses and leaves which Paolo loved to paint. The other two battle-pieces in the Louvre and Uffizi represent different episodes of the fight, while a painting of a Midnight Hunt, full of weird charm and romance, has lately been discovered at Oxford. But all of these pictures, we feel, are composed chiefly

[1] *Monthly Review*, v. 14.

with regard to effects of perspective, and recall Donatello's words: "Ah! Paolo, in your passion for perspective, you are forsaking the substance for the shadow!"

In 1425, Paolo went to Venice, and spent seven years there. Among other works, he designed a mosaic on the façade of St. Mark's, and the Signory of Florence hearing of the reputation which he had acquired, engaged him, on his return, to paint an equestrian portrait of the English Captain, John Hawkwood—commonly known in Italy as Giovanni Acuto—on the entrance wall of the Duomo. In May 1436, Paolo received the commission to paint this fresco in *terra verde*, with grisaille arabesques and sarcophagus below, to give the effect of a sepulchral monument in bronze. His first attempt failed to satisfy the Directors of the Duomo Works, but by August he produced the splendid fresco which has been of late years transferred to canvas, and still hangs on the entrance wall to the left of the cathedral door. The spirited figure of the warrior in his short cloak and broad hat, with his martial air and high-stepping horse, is a masterpiece not unworthy to be compared with the famous equestrian statue of Galtamelata, which Donatello modelled a few years later.

In 1444, Paolo accompanied his friend Donatello to Padua, where he spent two years, and painted some giants, in grisaille, in the hall of the Vitiliani Palace, which were greatly admired by Mantegna. After his return to Florence, in 1446, he painted the noble frescoes of the Creation, the Deluge, and the Sacrifice of Noah, in the Chiostro Verde of Santa Maria Novella. Here Paolo shows himself to be a

great and original master. The representation of the Flood is a striking and dramatic composition, remarkable not only for the knowledge of anatomy and foreshortening displayed in the nude figures, but for the vivid realisation of the scene and of the different emotions which it arouses. The desperate struggles of the drowning men and women in the water, the youth with his soaked garments and wind-blown hair, clinging to the side of the ark, and the man trying to keep himself up by the help of a tub, are all wonderfully represented; while the dove flying home across the waters with the olive-leaf in her beak, brings an element of peace and hope into the scene of desolation. Equally impressive in its way is the patriarchal group of Noah's sons and daughters, kneeling round the altar, in flowing draperies that recall Masaccio's designs, and the foreshortened figure of God the Father brooding like a cloud over the scene, with a mystic grandeur not unworthy of Michel Angelo himself. These works of Paolo Uccello made the Chiostro Verde a school of drawing little inferior in fame to the Brancacci Chapel, and there can be no doubt that both Signorelli and Buonarroti were among the artists who came to study in the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella during the next fifty years.

Another admirable work by this artist which has fortunately been preserved, is the Miracle of the Host, which Paolo painted for the Confraternity of Corpus Domini at Urbino, in 1468. He was seventy-two years of age, but the picture shows no sign of failing powers. The dramatic tale of the wealthy Jew's wife who threw the Host into the fire, and the swift vengeance that overtook the family which had

been guilty of this act of sacrilege, is told with startling vividness. All the different actors in the story, the frightened children, the horses and soldiers who force open the doors of the house, the solemn procession of priests and magistrates, are represented in the most life-like manner; while the skilfully lighted interior, and the pleasant landscape with its orchards and gardens along the mountain-side, are reproduced with a truth and fidelity that make us realise the marvellous advance which had been effected during the lifetime of this one master. The presence of Paolo at Urbino is commemorated by Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, who gives Uccello a place among the illustrious painters in his rhyming Chronicle. By the following year he was back in Florence, where he describes himself in his income-tax return as old and ailing and quite unable to work, while his wife, Mona Tommasa, is also ill. Paolo had married late in life, after his return from Padua, and had a son of sixteen, named after his friend Donatello, and a daughter Antonia, who is described as being herself an artist, and who became a Carmelite nun after her father's death. Six years later, on the 11th of December, 1475, Paolo Uccello died, and was buried in his father's sepulchre in San Spirito.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—*Duomo:* Frescoes—Equestrian Portrait of Sir John Hawkwood, Four Heads of Prophets.

" *S. Maria Novella—Chiostro Verde:* Frescoes — The Creation, Deluge, Sacrifice of Noah.

" *Uffizi:* 52. Battle of S. Romano.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Urbino.—Gallery: 89. The Miracle of the Host, 1468.

London. — National Gallery: 583. Battle of S. Romano.

Oxford.—University Galleries: 28. Midnight Hunt.

Paris.—Louvre: 1272. Portraits of Giotto, Paolo Uccello, Donatello, Brunellesco and Antonio Manetti; 1273. Battle.

Vienna: Count Lanckoronski: St. George and the Dragon.

VIII

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO

1390–1457

CLOSELY connected with Paolo Uccello, both by the character of his art and the time of his life, was Andrea del Castagno, or Andreino, as he is called by Giovanni Santi in his "Chronicle," and by Albertini in his "Memorials." Vasari pronounced him to be great and excellent both in drawing and painting, but accused him of having murdered his comrade, Domenico Veneziano, who was working with him in S. Maria Nuova, in order to obtain possession of certain secrets of oil painting. Since the two artists never worked together in this church, and Domenico survived his supposed murderer four years, the charge may be dismissed as groundless, and Vasari's only excuse for the statement is, that, in 1443, a painter named Domenico di Matteo was murdered by some unknown person in Florence.

Andrea was born, about 1390, at Castagno, a village of Val Mugello, and began life, like Giotto, by keeping sheep, until his taste for drawing attracted the notice of Bernardetto de' Medici, who brought him to Florence and placed him under a good teacher. The name of his master is unknown, but his vigorous drawing and realistic style bear a marked affinity to the art of

Paolo Uccello and Donatello, by whom he was, it is plain, strongly influenced. The traditional violence and brutality of his temper certainly agree with the character of his works. His types are coarse and unpleasant, his colouring hard and crude, but the accuracy of his drawing and the power and reality of his creations are undeniable. The bitterness of his spirit and natural rudeness of his peasant nature was increased by the hard struggles of his early years. In 1430, he describes himself as having been laid up in a hospital during the last four months, and as owning neither home nor bed in Florence, his sole possession being a small house, which he had inherited from his father, in Val Mugello. By degrees, however, his circumstances improved, and his talent obtained recognition. In 1435, he was employed by the Signory to paint the effigies of the Albizzi and Peruzzi, who were exiled as rebels for plotting against Cosimo de' Medici, on the walls of the Podestà palace, and acquired the surname of Andrea *degli Impiccati*—"Andrea of the Gallows"—from this circumstance. He was also employed to design stained glass for the cupola, and to paint cherubs and lilies on the organ of the Duomo. But his chief work at this period was the decoration of a hall in the Villa Pandolfini, at Legnaia, with full-length figures of illustrious Florentines, as well as famous Queens and Sibyls of ancient legend. This hall, which Andrea further adorned with pilasters, friezes of youth and festoons of flowers and fruit, in classical style, and which as an example of Renaissance decoration excited Albertini's admiration, has long been destroyed, but the portraits of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Farinata degli Uberti, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the Grand

Seneschal of Naples, and of the Hospodar, Filippo Scolari, as well as the figures of the Cumœan Sibyls, Queen Esther and Thomyris, Queen of the Amazons, were safely transferred to canvas, and now hang in the Museum of S. Apollonia. All of these figures are distinguished by the same sculptural austerity of design and vivacity of expression, and the warriors Farinata and Pippo Spano standing with swords in their hands and legs apart, bear a striking resemblance to Donatello's St. George. The same fiery spirit and vigorous reality mark the equestrian portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino, which Andrea executed in 1455, as a companion to that of Sir John Hawkwood, but both horse and warrior lack something of the distinction which belongs to Paolo Uccello's conception.

Unfortunately the important series of frescoes of the Virgin's life, which Andrea painted in the Chapel of S. Egidio, belonging to the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, between 1450 and 1453, have perished, and only a Trinity, with an emaciated St. Jerome and other Saints, remains of those which he executed in the Medici Chapel of the Annunziata.

But two frescoes of the Crucifixion which Andrea painted, as Vasari tells us, in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, adjoining the hospital, are still in existence. One of these remains in the ancient court of the hospital; the other has been removed to the Uffizi. It is a noble example of the master's dramatic powers, which are nowhere better displayed than in the figure of St. John at the foot of the cross.

Another fresco representing the Last Supper may still be seen in the refectory of the ancient convent of S. Apollonia, which is now a complete gallery of Andrea's works. Frescoes of the Crucifixion, Entombment and Resurrection have lately been recovered from the whitewash which concealed them, and the heroes and women from Villa Pandolfini have been hung upon one of the walls, while the whole of another wall is occupied by the Cenacolo. This subject is painted with Andrea's habitual directness and frank realism. The white cloth and dishes on the table, the barrel vaulting of the ceiling and panelling of its walls, the grass on the ground, and the room opening out of the upper chamber, are all exactly reproduced. The Apostles are rough peasants, with strong faces and coarse hands, and there is little attempt at nobility of form or elevation of thought, even in the Christ. But in spite of the vulgarity of type and lack of ideal beauty, the work is one of great power and originality. The heads of the Apostles are full of individual character, the grouping of the figures, their gestures and attitudes, are singularly varied and expressive, and there can be little doubt that the composition of this naturalist master inspired Leonardo with the first idea of his sublime work.

A second Cenacolo, which Andrea del Castagno painted in the summer of 1457, for the refectory of Santa Maria Nuova, was his last fresco. A few months later he died, on the 19th of August, at the age of sixty-seven, and was buried in the church of the Annunziata.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—S. Apollonia: Frescoes—Last Supper, Crucifixion, Entombment and Resurrection. Nine figures from Villa Pandolfini, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Dante, Queen Thomyris, Cumœan Sibyl, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, Farinata degli Uberti, Filippo Scolari, Queen Esther.

" *Annunziata:* Fresco—Trinity, with St. Jerome and other Saints.

" *Duomo:* Fresco—Equestrian Portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino.

" *Uffizi:* Fresco—12. Crucifixion (from S. Maria degli Angeli).

" *Hospital of S. M. Nuova:* Crucifixion.

London.—National Gallery: 1138. Crucifixion.

" Mr. Pierpont Morgan : Portrait of Man.

Berlin.—Gallery: 47a. Assumption.

X

DOMENICO VENEZIANO

1400–1461

If the two first Naturalist masters of the fifteenth century, Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno, have left few works behind them, we have still less opportunity of studying the paintings of their contemporary, Domenico Veneziano, who belonged to the same group, and whose style was formed on the pattern of Donatello and Masaccio's art. Domenico was born in Venice about 1400, and probably became acquainted with Cosimo de' Medici during his exile from Florence in 1434, since four years later the Venetian artist addressed a letter to Cosimo's son Piero, which shows that he was on friendly terms with the family. Those were golden days for art, and Giovanni Rucellai expressed the feelings of many of his fellow-citizens when he thanked God that he was a native of Florence, the greatest city in the world, and lived in the age of the magnificent Medici. Never was there a time when so many churches and palaces were built and adorned, never were scholars and artists so generously patronised and so highly honoured as in those days. The members of this illustrious house not only lavished their wealth on works of art, but took a personal interest in the artists they employed.

Painters and sculptors were admitted into the family circle of the Palace in the Via Larga, and numbered among Cosimo's most intimate friends. Michelozzo followed him in his exile to Venice, and Donatello begged that he might be buried close to his patron's tomb in S. Lorenzo, in order that he might be near him in death as he had been in life. Cosimo's eldest son Piero il Gottoso—the Gouty—shared his father's love of art, and, in spite of continual ill-health, took a keen interest in the painters whom he employed, and personally superintended the decoration of the Medici Palace. It was to him that Domenico Veneziano, in April 1438, wrote the following letter from Perugia, where he was engaged in painting the figures of twenty-five illustrious soldiers and scholars in the hall of the Casa Baglioni.

"Most Illustrious and Generous Friend,—With all due respect I am glad to inform you that I am well, and hope that you too are well and happy. Many a time have I inquired for news of you, but could hear nothing until the other day Manno Donati told me that you had gone to Ferrara, and were very well in health, which afforded me great consolation. And had I known where you were, I would have written to you before, as much for my own satisfaction as out of the duty I owe you. For although in my humble condition I have no right to address your *gentilezza*, the perfect and true love which I bear to you, and all of yours, gives me boldness to write this, knowing how much I owe to you. I hear that Cosimo is going to have an altar-piece painted, and desires it to be a magnificent work. The idea pleases me greatly, and would please me still more if I might be allowed to paint the picture; and if this could be, I believe I could show you marvellous things.

And since the best masters, such as Fra Filippo and Fra Giovanni have much work to do, and Fra Filippo especially is engaged on an altar-piece for San Spirito, which will take him five years, working both day and night, my great wish to serve you makes me presumptuous enough to offer myself for the work. And if I do it badly, I will gladly accept deserved correction of my faults, having no wish but to do you honour . . . and if the work is so great that Cosimo thinks of employing several masters, I pray you to use your influence to obtain a small share in it for me, knowing as you do my ardent desire to accomplish some famous work, more especially for you. So I beg you to do your utmost, and promise that my work shall not fail to do you honour. I have nothing else to say just now, saving that if there is anything else I can do for you, I am always at your service; and I beg of you to send me an answer regarding the proposed altar-piece, and above all to inform me of your state of health, of which I am most anxious to hear. And may Christ prosper you and fulfil all your desires.—Your most faithful servant, Domenico of Venice, painter. In Perugia, the first day of April."

The altar-piece in question may have been one which Cosimo presented to S. Domenico of Cortona, towards the end of the year, in which case the artist did not obtain the commission; but it was probably owing to Piero's influence that he was invited soon after this to paint the choir of the Chapel of S. Egidio in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. From 1439 to 1445, Domenico was employed on this work, and executed a series of frescoes on the Childhood and Marriage of the Virgin, in which he introduced many admirable portraits of the Medici and their contemporaries, as well as several women of rare grace and beauty. Vasari's assertion that Domenico

painted these frescoes in oils, is partly borne out by entries in the account books of the hospital, which speak of large quantities of linseed oil being supplied to the artist while he was engaged upon these works; and although a certain admixture of oil in fresco painting was common as early as Cennino's time, there seems little doubt that Domenico made experiments in this medium. We know that Piero dei Franceschi, the Umbrian pupil who had accompanied him from Perugia and worked as his assistant in S. Maria Nuova, adopted this practice in his turn, and twenty years later agreed to paint a banner in oils for a church in Arezzo.

Unfortunately, a singular fatality has attended all Domenico's most important works. His figures in the Casa Baglioni, his frescoes in S. Egidio, and another series which he and Piero dei Franceschi were invited to paint in the Sacristy of the Santa Casa of Loreto, about 1450, have all perished. His most important work now remaining is the altar-piece which he painted for S. Lucia de' Bardi, and which, according to Vasari, he finished shortly before his death. This picture, now in the Uffizi, represents the Madonna and Child enthroned under a triple loggia between the Baptist and St. Francis on one side, and St. Nicholas and S. Lucia on the other, and bears the signature of the artist, with the words, "O mother of God, have mercy upon me!" It is a typical Quattrocento work, and shows the great progress which art had made in many directions during the last fifty years. The niches and cornices of coloured marbles, the fine modelling and strong relief of the heads, the thorough knowledge of anatomy and

perspective, all prove how attentively Domenico had studied the works of Masaccio and the Naturalist painters. The figures cannot be said to attain Paolo Uccello's perfection of structure and balance, nor are the heads as full of individual character as those of Andrea del Castagno, but the colouring is bright and attractive, and in the delicate profile of Santa Lucia, in the simple pose of the Virgin and natural attitude of the Child, standing on his Mother's knee and turning round to look at the Baptist, we recognise something of Fra Angelico's charm. The whole work is one of great interest, revealing, as it does, a tenderness of feeling and a grace that go far to explain the high degree of reputation which Domenico enjoyed in Florence. The predella of this picture, described by Lanzi, and representing the Martyrdom of S. Lucia, with a king who appears to direct the execution from a balcony above, is now at Berlin.

Another characteristic work is the fresco which this artist painted for a Tabernacle at the corner of two streets leading to S. Maria Novella, and which, after being removed from the wall and transferred to canvas in 1851, is now in the National Gallery. Here the fair-haired Virgin, seated on a throne in a flowery meadow, with the Child on her knee lifting his hand in blessing, and God the Father and the Dove of the Holy Ghost above, resembles the Madonna of S. Lucia in type and feature, while the keen, thoughtful heads of the Dominican friars below are full of character. Closely related to these is the fresco of the Baptist and St. Francis, in Santa Croce, two noble types of ascetic holiness and fervent devotion. A

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS (UFFIZI).

DOMENICO VENEZIANO.

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woman's portrait by Domenico is mentioned among the pictures in the Palazzo Medici, and a fine bust of a man in red cap and vest, now in the Pitti, belongs to his last years.

Domenico's work at Loreto was interrupted by an outbreak of the plague, and by May 1455, he was back in Florence, where he rented a house in the parish of S. Paolo. After this we hear no more of him until he died, on the 15th of May 1461, and was buried in S. Piero Gattolini. And in 1462, the architect Filarete, in the Dedication of his Treatise to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, mentions Domenico da Venezia, together with Andreino and Francesco di Pesello, as three excellent artists who had lately died in Florence. The high reputation in which Domenico was still held at Perugia is proved by the fact that when Bonfigli executed his frescoes in the Palace of the Commune, an express condition was made that the work was to be valued by Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo and Domenico of Venice. The frescoes, however, were not completed until 1461, by which time both Angelico and Domenico were dead, and Fra Filippo alone remained to decide the question. A gentle and amiable character, Domenico made himself generally beloved, and was noted for his musical gifts, taking delight both in singing and playing the lute. But neither his artistic talents nor his fame succeeded in bringing him wealth. He never acquired a house or property of his own in Florence, and died poor, if we are to believe the following notice affixed to his name in the margin of the account books of S. Maria Nuova: "and if any more was paid to Domenico da Venezia, it is lost, for he has left nothing."

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Uffizi: 1305. Madonna and Child, with four Saints.

„ *Santa Croce:* Fresco—Baptist and St. Francis.

Berlin.—Gallery: 64. Predella—Martyrdom of S. Lucia.

London.—National Gallery: Frescoes—766, 767. Heads of Dominican friars; 1215. Madonna and Child Enthroned.

X

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI

1427–1499

DOMENICO VENEZIANO'S most illustrious scholar was the great Umbrian artist Piero dei Franceschi, who, both in his types and landscapes, shows close affinity to his master. But he also numbered among his followers the Florentine Alesso Baldovinetti, who, as the teacher of Ghirlandajo, of the Pollaiuoli brothers and Andrea Verrocchio, exerted considerable influence on the next generation of artists, and occupies an important place in art history. Alessio was born on the 14th of October 1427, and early gave up his father's trade to study painting in the shop of Domenico Veneziano. In 1448, he matriculated in the Painters' Guild, and about the same time was employed to paint three panels in the presses for the altar-plate of the Medici Chapel in the Annunziata, which Fra Angelico had left unfinished when he went to Rome. These little subjects, representing the Baptism, Transfiguration and Marriage in Cana, are marked by the same refined naturalism that we find in Domenico Veneziano's works, and show the same technical methods and careful accurate observation.

A curious book of *Ricordi*, which has been preserved in the Archives of S. Maria Nuova, gives an account

of commissions executed by Baldovinetti between 1449 and 1491, and shows how varied his occupations were. Besides frescoes and altar-pieces for churches, we find entries of household altars for private devotion, panels for the decoration of bedsteads and furniture, marriage chests and shields painted with arms and garlands and inscribed with mottoes, gesso frames, mosaics, cartoons for stained glass and *intarsia.* In 1454, he painted an Inferno in the Infirmary of the Servi brothers, for Lodovico Gonzaga,—a picture described in the *Ricordi* as "a Hell with many nudes and furies." Four years later he received eight florins for certain figures round the high altar of S. Egidio, the chapel in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, which Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno had adorned with frescoes. He does not, however, mention the fresco of the Nativity, in the cloisters of the Annunziata, which he painted in 1462, for the sum of twenty florins, which had been bequeathed to the Servi friars by a citizen named Arrigucci. This much damaged fresco, the first of a remarkable series by the hands of some of the best Florentine painters, is a characteristic example of Baldovinetti's style. The composition is wanting in unity, the figures are scattered and the interest divided, but the landscape of Val d'Arno is rendered with a truth and love of detail which marks an epoch in art. "Alesso," writes Vasari, "was a very diligent artist, who tried to copy minutely every detail in Mother Nature. He loved painting landscapes exactly as they are, and you see in his pictures, rivers, bridges, rocks, plants, fruit-trees, roads, fields, towns, castles and an infinite number of similar objects. In his Nativity

you can count the separate straws and knots in the thatched roof of the hut, and you see the stones in the ruined house behind, worn away by rain, and the thick root of ivy growing up the wall is painted with so much accuracy that the green leaves are differently shaded on either side; and among the shepherds he introduced a snake crawling in the most natural manner along the wall." This treatment of landscape is common to all Baldovinetti's works, and forms a marked feature in the charming Madonna and Child in the Louvre, where it is still ascribed to his fellow-pupil Piero dei Franceschi. Unfortunately for the preservation of his paintings, Alesso followed his master Domenico's example in trying new methods of colouring, and his experiments, as Vasari tells us, often proved disastrous. "He began his works in fresco, and finished them in *secco*, mixing his egg-tempera with a liquid varnish, heated in the fire, which instead of protecting his paintings from damp, destroyed the colour; and so, instead of making a rare and valuable discovery, he deceived himself and ruined his works."

A few of his panel-pictures, however, are still in a fair state of preservation. One of the best is the altar-piece in the Uffizi, which he painted for the chapel of the Medici villa at Caffagiuolo. Here the Virgin—who has Angelico and Domenico Veneziano's grace of type and sweetness of expression—is seated in a garden, with her feet on an Eastern carpet, and palms and cypresses appearing above the rich brocaded hangings behind her throne. St. Francis and St. Dominic kneel at her feet in deep devotion, and the Baptist, SS. Cosimo and Damian and other

saints stand on either side. Very similar in style is the altar-piece of the Trinity, in the Accademia, for which Baldovinetti received eighty-nine florins, and which he painted in 1472, for the high altar of the Trinità, at the desire of Bongianni Gianfigliazzi. The idea of the angels floating on the clouds and drawing back the curtain to display the heavenly vision was finely conceived and well executed; but the picture is in a bad condition, and much of the colour has been destroyed. This same Gianfigliazzi, we learn from Alesso's records, was the patron who, in July 1471, gave him the great work of his life, the frescoes in the choir of the Trinità. The painter had promised to finish the series in seven years, for the sum of 200 florins, but the task proved far more arduous than he had expected, and it was only in January 1497 that his work was at length completed. Four masters of repute, Cosimo Rosselli, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Perugino and Filippino Lippi, were then called to value the frescoes, and fixed the price at 1000 florins. These works, to which Baldovinetti devoted the best years of his life, and in which he introduced portraits of the Medici and their most illustrious contemporaries, were destroyed in 1760, when the choir was rebuilt, and the only fragments now to be seen are the figures of the Patriarchs on the ceiling, which have been lately brought to light, and a portrait of the painter in a red mantle, with a green cloth on his head and a white handkerchief in his hand, which is now in the Morelli collection at Bergamo.

Alesso's journal ends in 1491, when his time and thoughts were absorbed in this great work. The

last entries record his restoration of the mosaics in the Baptistery of Florence and in the choir of S. Miniato, where, twenty-five years before, he had decorated the Cardinal of Portugal's Sepulchral Chapel with frescoes of the Prophets and an altar-piece of the Annunciation. A few of his smaller Madonnas may be seen in private collections in Paris and Florence, and a profile portrait of a lady in the National Gallery, which has been ascribed at different times to Piero dei Franceschi and Paolo Uccello, has been lately recognised by Mr Roger Fry as his work. The face is one of great charm and distinction, and the patterned brocade of the sleeve and beads of the necklace are painted in Baldovinetti's characteristic manner.

Alesso married about 1479, when he was already over fifty, but his wife, Mona Daria, died early, leaving him to a solitary old age. On the 17th of October 1498, being seventy-one years of age, the painter entered the hospital of S. Paolo, a house of charity belonging to the Third Order of St. Francis, and made a donation of all his goods after his death to this institution, on condition that his faithful maid-servant Mea should be supported to the end of her life. Ten months afterwards he died, on the 29th of August, and was buried in a grave which he had bought twenty years before in the Church of S. Lorenzo. Vasari relates how, after his death, a big chest which he had brought with him into the hospital was opened, and how, instead of being full of gold, as the Master of the Hospital expected, it only contained a few drawings and a book on the art of mosaic. "But no one was much surprised," adds the historian; "for he

was so kind and courteous that he shared everything he possessed with his friends."

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—S. Trinità, Choir: Frescoes of ceiling—Noah, Moses, Abraham, David, Sacrifice of Isaac. 1471-1497.
" *S. Miniato:* Annunciation, frescoes of Prophets.
" *S. Pancrazio:* Fresco—Risen Christ.
" *Accademia:* 233. Marriage in Cana, Baptism, Transfiguration; 159. Trinity.
" *Uffizi:* 56. Annunciation; 60. Madonna and Saints.
" *Mr. Berenson:* Madonna and Child.
" *Annunziata:* Fresco—Nativity.
" *S. Ambrogio:* Madonna adoring Child, with Saints (partly).
Bergamo. — *Gallery:* 23. Fresco — Portrait of Painter.
London.—National Gallery: 758. Portrait of Lady.
Paris.—Louvre: 1300A. Madonna.

XI

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

1406–1469

AFTER the death of Masaccio, the foremost artists in Florence were two friars, the Dominican Fra Angelico and the Carmelite Fra Filippo Lippi. But although both were members of religious orders, and both worked at the same period, the lives and art of the two men present the greatest possible contrast. While Fra Angelico was a saint who saw in every picture a direct act of worship, Fra Lippo was a gay and pleasure-loving worldling, who felt ill at ease in his friar's habit, and gladly availed himself of his art as a means of escape from the cloister. "He was very fond of good company," says Vasari, "and himself led a free and joyous life." His dreams were all of earth, and his thoughts never soared beyond the gladness and beauty of the natural world. He paints the merry, curly-headed boys whom he met in the streets of Florence as cherubs, takes his mistress as a model for his Madonnas, and peoples the court of heaven with fair maidens in rich attire and dainty head-gear. A thorough-going realist at heart, his naturalism differed wholly from that of his contemporaries, Paolo Uccello or Andrea del Castagno. He never troubled his head with scientific problems or

new technical methods. The old tempera painting was good enough for him, and he carried this form of art to the highest point of perfection, while at the same time he profited by all the advance which Masaccio and his followers had made, and gave a marked impulse to the new realism by the strong human element which he introduced in his works. His genial delight in all bright and pleasant things, in the daisies and the springtime, in rich ornament and glowing colour, in splendid architecture and sunny landscapes, in lovely women and round baby-faces, fitted him in an especial manner to be the herald of that fuller and larger life which was dawning on the men and women of the Renaissance.

This painter, who was to carry out Masaccio's principles and continue his teaching, began life in the convent of the Carmelite church, where that short-lived master painted his great frescoes. Filippo Lippi was a butcher's son, and was born in 1406, in a street behind the Carmine Church. His mother died at his birth, and his father two years afterwards, and at the age of eight the boy was taken to the neighbouring convent by his aunt, Mona Lapaccia, who could no longer support him. The friars taught him to read, and placed him in the novices' school; but instead of learning grammar the boy drew figures on his copy-book, and turned musical notes into arms and legs. Fortunately the Prior encouraged these artistic tastes, and sent young Lippo to learn of Lorenzo Monaco, from whom he acquired the skill in handling colour and glazes that distinguished his tempera-paintings. Afterwards he studied in the Brancacci Chapel, where his greatest delight was to watch

Masaccio at work, and where he so far excelled his comrades that people said Masaccio's spirit had entered into the body of Fra Lippo. On the 8th of June 1421, the young artist took the vows of a Carmelite friar and became a member of the Order, but he still worked diligently at his profession, and painted many frescoes in the church and cloister, which were destroyed in the fire of 1771. We find the word "painter" affixed to Fra Lippo's name in the convent records of 1430 and 1431, at the end of which year he left the monastery to devote himself solely to art. By this time the Carmelites were probably satisfied that he had no vocation for the cloister, and did not seek to detain him, but he remained on friendly terms with them, and always signed his pictures "*Frater Philippus.*"

Soon after this, according to a well-known story—which is not only told by Vasari, but was current in Florence towards the close of the century, and is placed by the novelist Matteo Bandello in Leonardo's lips—Fra Lippo fell into the hands of Moorish pirates, when he was sailing in a pleasure-boat off the coast of Ancona, and was taken captive to Barbary, and there sold as a slave. Here the skill with which he drew his master's portrait in charcoal on his prison-wall produced so favourable an impression on the Moors, that at the end of eighteen months he was released and returned to Florence. Whatever may be the truth of this strange story, it is certain that we hear nothing of Fra Lippo between 1431, and the summer of 1434, when he was employed in painting a tabernacle for the basilica of Il Santo, at Padua.

On his return to Florence he found a generous

patron in Cosimo de' Medici, who took the lively friar under his especial protection, and not only appreciated his talent, but looked indulgently on his freaks and follies, saying that men of his rare genius were angels of light, and must not be treated like beasts of burden. But Fra Lippo's idle and dissolute habits were a sore trial to his employers, and once, when Cosimo, in despair of ever seeing him finish the picture upon which he was engaged, locked him up in a room of the Via Larga Palace, the friar knotted his bed-clothes into a rope, and let himself down into the street from the window! Yet Cosimo himself and all the members of his family looked kindly on the wayward artist, and not only employed him to paint pictures for their own houses and chapels, but sent his works as gifts to the Pope and the king of Naples. Through their powerful influence, he was appointed rector of S. Quirico, at Legnaia, in 1442, and ten years later became chaplain to the nuns of S. Niccolò in Florence. Among the first works which Lippi painted for the Medici Palace were the two charming lunettes of the Seven Saints and of the Annunciation in the National Gallery. The patron Saints of the family, Cosimo and Damiano, figure prominently in the first group, and the Annunciation bears the badge of the Medici—three feathers held together by a ring. Both of these little paintings are executed with the brilliancy and finish of a miniature, and are among the most exquisite examples of tempera in existence. The same freshness and charm distinguish the youthful Virgin adoring the Child sleeping on the flowery meadow with the little St.

MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD (ACCADEMIA).

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

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John in the background, which Fra Lippo painted for Cosimo's wife. This subject is repeated with a figure of St. Bernard and a finely wooded landscape in the background, in a lovely picture at Berlin, which may have been the altar-piece that once adorned the chapel in the Medici Palace, where Benozzo Gozzoli painted his frescoes of the Journey of the Three Kings to Bethlehem. It was evidently a favourite with the Medici, and we find a third version in another altar-piece which Fra Lippo painted by their command, for the nunnery of Annalena. But of all the works which he executed for these generous patrons, the best-known is the delightful little Uffizi picture of two boy-angels holding up the Child before his Mother, who sits with clasped hands, in front of an open window. The muslin frills of the fair-haired Virgin's veil, the chubby-faced Child stretching out his little arms to his Mother, above all the mischievous look in the eyes of the boy-angel with white tunic and purple wings, who is said to represent the young Lorenzo de' Medici, are all in Fra Filippo's happiest manner. Through the open window we see a river winding its way over rich plains, and on the rocky heights beyond we catch a glimpse of distant towers steeped in the glow of the evening sun. Fra Lippo excelled in designing these small pictures for household altars, and was one of the first to adopt the round form, or *tondo*, which became so popular with Florentine painters and sculptors. An admirable example of this class of picture by his hand is the Madonna and Child with the pomegranate, in the Pitti. As before, Masaccio's influence is apparent in the model-

ling of the heads and hands, and graceful women-figures and architectural accessories are introduced in the background with a highly decorative effect. The original drawing for this sweet, mournful Virgin-face is in the Dreyfus collection in Paris, and is said to be a portrait of the fair novice Lucrezia Buti who afterwards became Fra Lippo's wife. The picture evidently belongs to the friar's maturer years, and was probably painted when he was at Prato. To an earlier date we must ascribe the Madonna and Angels in the Louvre, which was ordered by the Captain of Or' San Michele for a chapel in S. Spirito, in 1336, and which Lippi complained would cost him five years of incessant toil!

The large Coronation of the Virgin, in the Accademia, was ordered in 1441, by the Prior of S. Ambrogio, but only completed six years later, when the painter received the sum of 1200 *lire*. Here the painter's conception of the scene is strikingly original. Three rows of angels crowned with roses, and holding tall white lilies, stand around the throne; saints and bishops, monks and nuns mingle with little children in the crowd of worshippers below; and in the right hand, conspicuous among these splendid robes and wealth of ornament by his shaven head and Carmelite habit, is Fra Lippo himself, clasping his hands devoutly, while a laughing Angel holds up a scroll with the words *Iste perfecit opus*. In the same year that he finished this important work, he received another forty florins from the Signory of Florence for the small Vision of St. Bernard, in the National Gallery, which originally hung in a hall of the Palazzo Pubblico. But in spite of increasing fame

and of the large sums which he received for these works, the friar was always poor and needy, beset with impatient creditors, and writing begging letters to the Medici. In August 1439, he addressed a querulous epistle to Piero, complaining that his illustrious patron had not sent him a farthing, although he insisted on keeping his picture, and calling himself the poorest friar in Florence. And since it is his grievous misfortune to have six orphan nieces, sickly and incapable girls of marriageable age, depending upon him, he implores Piero for God's sake to send him a little corn and wine, in order that they may not starve during his absence. "I cannot leave home," he adds in conclusion, "for I have not enough to buy a pair of socks, and if I stay here I am a dead man, so great is the terror I live in! So I entreat you to reply at once, and send word to your house that something may be paid me." In his distress, he occasionally had recourse to the most unscrupulous measures, and, in 1450, forged a receipt for the sum of forty florins, which he owed to one of his assistants. A law-suit followed, and Fra Lippo, being put to the rack, confessed his crime, and in May 1455, was deprived of his benefice of S. Quirico, partly because of his misdeeds, and partly because, in spite of repeated warnings, he never visited his church or parish. Nothing daunted, the guilty friar appealed to Pope Calixtus III., but his Holiness only confirmed the sentence, and declared the said Fra Lippo to be guilty of many and great wickednesses.

After this disastrous affair Lippi retired to Prato, where he had been engaged four years before, to paint the choir of the Pieve, or parish church, which

Fra Angelico had been unable to undertake. Here he bought a house close to the convent of Santa Margherita, and was appointed chaplain to this community and requested by the Abbess to paint a Madonna for the nuns' chapel. Although he was already past fifty, the incorrigible Friar now fell in love with his model, a beautiful orphan girl of twenty-one, named Lucrezia Buti, the daughter of a Florentine silk-weaver, who had been placed in the convent by her brother, and had taken the vows two years before. On the festival of the Holy Girdle, which was celebrated with great pomp at Prato, the Friar carried off Lucrezia to his own house, where she was soon followed by her elder sister Spinetta, who, like herself, had little vocation for the cloister. Towards the end of 1457, Lucrezia gave birth to a son, the painter Filippino Lippi ; but two years later, both she and her sister were compelled to return to the convent, and, on the 23rd of December 1459, solemnly renewed their vows, in the presence of the Bishop of Pistoia. Before long, however, Lucrezia and her sister found the convent rule intolerable, and once more sought refuge in Fra Lippo's house. This time a charge of unlawful abduction was brought against the painter, who appealed to his powerful friend Cosimo, at whose intercession Pope Pius II. absolved both the guilty parties from their vows and declared them to be lawful man and wife. The whole story is a curious illustration of contemporary morals, and throws light on the habits and practices of religious communities of the age.

The Friar's adventures, as might be expected, excited not a little merriment among his friends in Florence.

"I laughed heartily," wrote Cosimo's younger son, Giovanni de' Medici, "when I heard of Fra Filippo's escapade." In the same letter, addressed to a Florentine envoy at the Court of Naples, Giovanni alludes to the picture by Fra Lippo which he had presented to King Alfonso, and which had greatly pleased His Majesty. This little panel, a Madonna and Child with Angels and a youthful St. Michael, was painted by the Friar in 1457, after repeated delays and interruptions. On the 20th of July, he addressed a letter to his "dearest and most illustrious lord," Giovanni de' Medici, who was spending the summer in his villa at Fiesole, professing himself to be his willing slave, and sending a sketch of the proposed picture, but asking for supplies of money, that he may obtain gold and silver leaf for the armour and wings of St. Michael. As usual, he is without a farthing, and has been unable to work for three days for want of gilding. "And I entreat you to answer," he adds; "for here I am dying, and only long to get away." This anxiety to leave Florence was not entirely due to the heat of the season, or even to the Friar's desire to see Lucrezia and her new-born son, for, six weeks later, a servant of the Medici, Francesco Cantansanti, writes to inform Giovanni, that up till Saturday evening he has been vainly urging Fra Filippo to finish the picture, and now hears that the goods in his shop have been seized by his creditors, and that he himself has disappeared. "But what risks the man runs!" is the conclusion with which the long-suffering agent ends his tale. The picture in question was eventually finished by the following spring, and sent to Naples in May 1458. The next year Fra Lippo found him-

self engaged in another tedious law-suit respecting a picture of St. Jerome, which he had agreed to paint for Lorenzo de' Manetti. As usual the unscrupulous artist had taken the money without painting the picture, and was condemned to be publicly excommunicated by the Archbishop.

Meanwhile the frescoes in the church at Prato, which Filippo had engaged to execute, in 1452, and for which he had already received considerable sums, were still unfinished. After repeated entreaties and remonstrances, Carlo de' Medici, the illegitimate son of Cosimo, who became Rector of Prato, in 1460, at length induced the Friar to resume the long-neglected work, and the frescoes were finally completed in 1464. On the right wall of the choir, the artist painted scenes from the life of the Baptist ; on the left he represented the history of St. Stephen, the patron-saint of Prato. These frescoes are Fra Lippo's most important works, and reveal his really great powers of design and execution. The grandeur of the composition and dramatic vigour with which the story is told, the animation and variety of the individual figures and the admirable proportions and perspective of the architecture justify the high praise bestowed upon the friar's works by Morelli, who compares them with Mantegna's frescoes at Padua, and pronounces them to be among the noblest creations of the fifteenth century. The early subjects from the Baptist's life abound in fascinating episodes and graceful figures, whose classical design and flowing lines prove Fra Lippo to have been an attentive student of antique models. Especially attractive is the simple and touching scene in which the young

St. John takes leave of his parents and receives their farewell blessing before the eyes of a sorrowing company of friends. But the most striking composition is the Feast of Herod, a scene of worldly splendour, in which the Friar's love of stately architecture, rich costumes and youthful loveliness has full play. The group at the supper-table, where Salome, kneeling before her gorgeously-arrayed mother, offers her the Baptist's head in a charger, recalls Masolino's Castiglione fresco, only that here, the horror-struck maidens clasp each other in a close embrace, as they turn aside from the sight. The early scenes of St. Stephen's life have suffered severely, but the fresco of his Burial is unrivalled in solemn and majestic beauty. In the nave of a spacious Renaissance church, with double aisles and classical pillars, we see the young martyr, laid out on his bier, with quietly folded hands, clad in a red robe. In the foreground two women are seated on the marble pavement, weeping bitterly, while an imposing assembly of lay and ecclesiastical dignatories chant the last offices, and two youthful disciples kiss the feet of their beloved teacher. The expression of the aged priest, who stands behind the officiating minister, clasping his hands in anguish, and lifting his eyes to heaven with prayerful resignation, is singularly natural and pathetic, and reveals the Carmelite friar in a new light. Among the prelates at the foot of the bier, the portly Carlo de' Medici is introduced, robed in full canonicals and wearing a red cap, and in the black-robed figure further back we recognise the portrait of the artist, whose name, *Frater Filippus*, is inscribed on the pediment in the opposite corner.

After finishing these magnificent works, which Michelangelo, we are told, not only admired, but strove to imitate, Fra Filippo left Prato in 1465, taking his wife, who had lately given birth to a daughter named Alessandra, and his two children with him, and went to Spoleto. Here his old patrons, the Medici, had obtained the important work of decorating the choir of the Cathedral, for this strange *protégé*, whom they had helped through so many difficulties, and whom, in spite of his sins, they never forsook. During the next four years, Fra Lippo devoted his energies to these frescoes at Spoleto. Chief among them is the great Coronation, on the vaulting of the semi-dome, with its grand central group encircled by a living, moving host of angels, dancing on the clouds, singing and scattering flowers, playing harpsichords, or swinging censers in the air. There is none of the blessed peace and repose of Angelico's Paradise, but all is gaiety and movement, light and joy. The robes of the Madonna herself, and of Angels and Saints, are thickly embroidered with gold, roses bloom on the trees of the garden, and glittering seraphs wave tall lilies in their hands or stoop and gather flowers. The fresco has been sadly damaged and badly restored, but enough remains to show us the fine conception and glowing colour of the original work, which made Vasari exclaim, when he stopped at Spoleto, on his way from Rome, "*Cosa molta bella! Fù gran uomo!*" —"What a beautiful thing! Truly, the Friar was a great man!" The Death of the Virgin, on the wall of the choir, recalls the Burial of St. Stephen, at Prato, and the sorrow-stricken expression on the face of St. John, who kneels with the other Apostles near the

bed, is touchingly represented. But instead of taking place in a church, the scene is set in a rocky landscape, and the form of Christ is seen throned on the clouds receiving the Virgin's soul into heaven. Fra Diamante, the Carmelite friar of Prato, who had become Fra Filippo's assistant, and had shared his good and evil fortunes, worked under him here and executed the chief part of the remaining frescoes in the choir, after his master's death. For, long before the work was ended, Fra Lippo died, on the 9th October, 1469, leaving his orphan son in the charge of his faithful follower, who finished the frescoes and gave the boy a share in the 200 ducats which he received from the Municipality of Spoleto. The master himself was buried in the Duomo, where he had his last works, under a tomb of red and white marble. Many years afterwards, Lorenzo de' Medici begged the citizens of Spoleto to allow Fra Filippo's bones to be removed to Florence, and when this request was refused, sent the painter's son, Filippino, to erect a monument above his resting-place, and employed Angelo Poliziano to celebrate his memory in a Latin epitaph. In his old convent of the Carmine the friar was not forgotten, and the following record of his death may be found in a book which gives the names of the Carmelites who died in the year 1469:—

"On the 9th of October, F. Philippus Thomæ Lippi de Lippis, of Florence, the famous painter, died at Spoleto, where he was painting the choir of the Cathedral, and was buried with great honour in a marble tomb in front of the central door of this church. So rare was his grace in painting, that scarcely any other artist came near him in our

times. The Chapel of Prato and many other marvellous works show how great a master he was."

He had been guilty of many crimes and follies, but the Church forgave him for the sake of the grace and excellence of his art, and the friars of the Carmine were still proud to claim him as their brother.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—S. Lorenzo: Annunciation and Predella.
" *Accademia:* 55. Madonna and Saints; 62. Coronation; 79. Madonna adoring the Child; 82. Nativity; 86. Predella of St. Augustine, St. Frediano and the Virgin; 263. St. Anthony and Baptist; 264. Annunciation.
" *Uffizi:* 1307. Madonna and Child, with two Angels.
" *Pitti:* 343. Madonna and Child with Pomegranate.
Prato. — *Duomo:* Frescoes — *Choir:* Life of St. Stephen and of the Baptist; *Transept:* Death of St. Bernard.
Rome.—Lateran: Coronation, Saints and Donors.
" *Doria Gallery:* Annunciation.
" *Mr. Mond:* Annunciation.
Spoleto.—Duomo, Choir: Frescoes—Coronation and Life of Virgin (in part).
Turin.—Gallery: 140, 141. Fathers of the Church.
Berlin. — *Gallery:* 58. Madonna; 69. Madonna adoring Child; 95. Madonna della Misericordia.
London. — *National Gallery:* 248. Vision of St. Bernard; 666. Annunciation; 667. Seven Saints.
Richmond.—Sir Frederick Cook: Adoration of Magi, Archangel Michael and St. Anthony.
Munich.—1005. Annunciation; 1006. Madonna and Child.
Paris.—Louvre. 1344. Madonna and Child with Saints

XII

FRANCESCO PESELLINO

1422–1457

CLOSELY associated with Fra Filippo at one period of his career was Francesco di Pesello, generally known as Pesellino, to distinguish him from his grandfather Giuliano. This interesting and attractive painter, who was born in 1422, and early left an orphan, grew up in the workshop of his grandfather, an architect and artist of some note, who painted banners and *cassoni*, designed stained glass, and was one of the competitors for the model of the Cathedral cupola. Like all the best contemporary artists, he enjoyed the friendship of the Medici, and on one occasion Cosimo lent him a sum of money for his daughter's dowry. Both the Peselli were distinguished animal painters, and a wonderful group of caged lions, as well as a hunting scene by Francesco's hand, adorned a hall in the Medici palace. Here, too, the young master was employed to paint predellas for altar-pieces by Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo, which are mentioned in Lorenzo de' Medici's inventory. All of these have disappeared, and the earliest of Pesellino's works now in existence, is a predella on the legend of St. Nicholas, which originally adorned an altar in

Santa Croce, and has been in the Casa Buonarroti since the days of Michelangelo. Here the artist's skill in telling a story and his remarkable power of delineating character are already evident, together with a certain elegance of form and gaiety of colour which mark all his works. A little panel representing the trial of a noble Florentine youth, falsely charged of a crime by base-born accusers, is in the Morelli collection at Bergamo, and belongs to the same early period.

After his grandfather's death, in 1446, Pesellino became more closely connected with Fra Filippo, and painted one of his finest predellas for that friar's altar-piece in the Medici Chapel of Santa Croce. These truly wonderful little panels, as Vasari justly calls them, are now divided between the Louvre and the Accademia of Florence. One of the best is the Miracle of St. Anthony of Padua, who is seen pointing from his place in the pulpit to the dead body of an usurer, whose heart has been removed and is discovered in a casket of gold pieces. Both in conception and grouping, these clever and animated scenes show the influence of Fra Lippo's style on his young assistant, but his types are slender and more refined, and the blue and grey tones of his colouring produce a quieter and more harmonious effect. Two other small panels on the legend of St. Sylvester belong to this period, and are now in the Doria Gallery in Rome. But the finest works we have from Pesellino's hand are his version of Boccaccio's story, the Marriage of Griselda, in the Morelli Gallery at Bergamo, and the two famous *cassoni* with the story of David, which,

were formerly in the Palazzo Torrigiani, and are now the property of Lady Wantage. In refinement and beauty of type, in poetic conception and delicate colouring, these panels surpass all Pesellino's earlier works, while the variety of animals introduced in David's triumphal procession are characteristic of the master's style. Unfortunately, these charming paintings were some of Pesellino's last works, and on the 29th July 1457, he died, at the early age of thirty-five, leaving a young widow, Mona Tarsia, and several children, in great poverty. After Fra Filippo settled at Prato, in 1452, Pesellino had taken another artist, Piero di Lorenzo, a man of fifty or sixty, to share his *bottega*, and work as his assistant; and shortly before his death the two painters agreed to execute a large and important altar-piece for the Church of the Trinità, at Pistoia, for which they were to receive 200 florins. But when Pesellino died, the members of the Company of the Sta. Trinità who had given him the order, handed over the unfinished picture to Fra Filippo, and, two years later, paid him the sum of 115 florins for completing the work. This explains the curious discrepancies of style which have puzzled critics in Pesellino's last altar-piece. The general design is clearly his, but the execution betrays the work of other hands, and the face of God the Father bears a marked resemblance to Fra Filippo's style. The central portion of this altar-piece now hangs in the National Gallery, while two Flying Angels from the upper part belong to Lord Brownlow and Lady Henry Somerset, and a panel with four Saints that originally

formed one of the wings of the picture, has lately been discovered at Buckingham Palace.[1]

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia: 72. Predella, St. Anthony, SS. Cosimo and Damiano, Nativity.
,, *Casa Buonarroti:* St. Nicholas of Bari.
Bergamo.—Morelli Gallery: 9. Trial of a Florentine; 11. Story of Griselda.
Milan.—Poldi-Pezzoli Museum: 587. Pietà.
Rome.—Doria Gallery: Predella—Pope Sylvester.
Boston, U.S.A.—Mrs Gardner: Triumphs of Petrarch.
Chantilly.—Madonna and Saints.
London.—National Gallery: 727. *Lady Wantage:* Story of David.
,, *Col. Holford:* Madonna and Saints.
Oxford.—University Galleries: 12. Meeting of Joachim and Anna.
Paris.—Louvre: 1414. Miracle of SS. Cosimo and Damiano, and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
Berlin.—Gallery: 1651. Crucifixion.

[1] P. Baccio (*Rivistá d'Arte*, 1904; L. Cust. e R. Fry, *Burlington Magazine*, 1909).

XIII

BENOZZO GOZZOLI

1420–1498

WHILE the Carmelite friar was bearing Masaccio's message in a more popular form to the world, a follower of Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, was continuing his saintly master's work on a lower spiritual level, in a more homely and ordinary style. This amiable and industrious artist, who painted a larger number of frescoes than any of his contemporaries, had neither Angelico's inspiration nor Fra Lippo's genuine artistic gifts. He studied Masaccio and the Naturalists carefully, and tried to imitate their clever foreshortenings, but he remained far behind Paolo Uccello and his followers in knowledge of the human form. His perspective is often faulty, and his drawing careless and slovenly; but as a story-teller and illustrator he has few rivals, and the frescoes which he painted with such marvellous rapidity are of rare interest, as pages of contemporary history which bring the life of the court and the life of the schools, the Medici and the humanists, the labourers in the vineyards and gardens of Tuscany, all in turn before our eyes.

Benozzo, surnamed Gozzoli—the thick-throated—was the son of a small Florentine tradesman—liter-

ally a waistcoat-maker, named Lese di Sandro. He was born in 1420, and like many of his contemporaries, learnt the trade of both painter and goldsmith in his boyhood. From 1444 to 1447, he worked with Lorenzo Ghiberti on the second of his Baptistery gates, and acquired from him that taste for landscape and architecture, and love of pleasant details and accessories, which marked his future work. Sir Joshua Reynolds' well-known remark, that buildings and landscape occupied so large a place in Ghiberti's basreliefs that his figures were only secondary objects, might be applied with equal truth to many of Benozzo's frescoes. In 1447, Fra Angelico, under whom Benozzo may have studied as a boy, took the young artist with him to Rome, and employed him both in the Vatican Chapel and at Orvieto. Here Benozzo's hand can be clearly traced in the pyramidal groups of Saints and Prophets on the roof of San Brizio's Chapel, and when Fra Angelico returned to Florence, his assistant offered to complete the work which he had left unfinished. But the Directors of the Cathedral Works declined his proposal, and the decoration of the chapel walls was only carried out fifty years later by Luca Signorelli. The frescoes of the Cesarini Chapel in Ara Cœli, which Benozzo next undertook, have all perished, excepting one figure, which is exactly imitated from Angelico, and represents St. Anthony of Padua with a flame in one hand and a book in the other.

In 1450, Benozzo was invited to Montefalco, one of the hill-set cities of Umbria, on the heights above the valley of the Clitumnus, and painted the altarpiece of the Assumption, now in the Lateran, as

well as several frescoes in the Church of S. Fortunato and twelve scenes from the life of St. Francis in the choir of the Franciscan church. The old stories which Giotto had painted 150 years before, in the neighbouring town of Assisi, are here repeated by Angelico's pupil in his master's style, with the addition of groups of men and women in contemporary costumes, and many homely incidents of his own invention. The portraits of Dante, Giotto, and Petrarch are introduced among the medallions of Franciscan saints under the windows, each with an appropriate Latin inscription, which reminds us of the humanist tendencies of the age. Dante is described as "a theologian, ignorant of no learning," Petrarch as "the laureate, monarch of all virtues," while Giotto is called "the foundation and light of painting." A side-chapel in the same church was also decorated by Benozzo, and contains a graphic representation of St. Jerome pulling out the thorn from the lion's foot, in the presence of a band of terrified friars. In 1453, he executed another series of frescoes on the life of S. Rosa of Lima in a convent at Viterbo, which were still in existence in the seventeenth century. On his way back to Florence, Benozzo visited Perugia and painted the Madonna and Saints, which is now in the town gallery, and bears the date of 1456. Both this altar-piece and the Montefalco frescoes were destined to have a marked influence on the development of the Umbrian School. The poetic naturalism and love of ornament, together with that tender devotional feeling which Benozzo inherited from his master, appealed in an especial manner to the

dwellers in these Umbrian valleys, and a Foligno artist, named Pier Antonio, who had worked with the Florentine master at Montefalco, handed on these traditions to Bonfigli and his companions at Perugia.

Meanwhile Benozzo returned to Florence, where the Medici welcomed him with open arms. Andrea del Castagno and Pesellino had died lately, Fra Angelico was no more, and Fra Filippo had gone to Prato in disgrace. The moment was a fortunate one and Benozzo soon found himself entrusted with the important task of decorating the Chapel of the Medici Palace. The subject chosen by his patrons was the Adoration of the Magi, that favourite theme of Florentine painters, which Gentile da Fabriano had already surrounded with romantic charm, and which Benozzo now set forth in one great fresco on the walls of this little oratory. All the festive pomp and splendour of court-pageants which the Medici had brought into the simple life of old Florence, all the beauty of the May time and the glamour of faery romance are gathered up in this triumphal procession of the Three Kings, journeying over hill and vale on their way to the manger of Bethlehem. They ride out, richly attired in brocades and shining armour, mounted on chargers adorned with sumptuous trappings and resplendent with gold and jewels, while fair-haired pages hold their horses' bridles or lead their greyhounds in leash. Following in their steps are a brilliant train of courtiers, with horses, dogs and leopards, winding their way over the rocky Apennines and down the green slopes, where tall bell-towers and white villas and chapels peep out among the olive

LORENZO DE' MEDICI (PALAZZO RICCARDI.)

BENOZZO GOZZOLI.

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and cypress groves, and narrow paths lead down into fruitful valleys watered by clear streams.

The special event which Cosimo de' Medici wished to commemorate was the General Council, which had been removed from Ferrara to Florence in 1439, and the visit of the Greek Emperor, who had been magnificently entertained by him within these palace walls. Accordingly, in the first two kings we have portraits of Joseph, the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, and of John Palæologus, a fine-looking, dark-bearded prince, wearing a coronet on his turban, and a flowered robe of gorgeous green and gold. In the youthful king on the white horse, with the blue cap and jewelled crown jauntily set on his curling locks, and the green laurel boughs about his bright young face, we recognise the boy Lorenzo, Piero de' Medici's eldest son, and the hope of all his noble house. Close beside him ride a princely escort, among whom are his grandfather, the aged Cosimo, on a white horse led by a youthful page, with his two sons, Piero and the handsome Giovanni, whose death, four years later, was the bitterest grief of his father's declining years. Marsilio Ficino and the painter himself mingle in the familiar throng of scholars and humanists. But the pageant does not end here. From the pomp and glory of earthly splendour we turn to the cradle of Bethlehem, and are given a glimpse of the unseen. This Benozzo has painted for us on the east wall of the Chapel, round the altar where Fra Filippo's Madonna adoring the Child-Christ hung of old. The background has changed, and instead of the olive-clad slopes and scarred heights of the Apennine we have the "divine forest"

of Dante's *Paradiso*, where bright-winged seraphs tend the flowers of this new Eden, and waves of heavenly melody rise and fall on the luminous air. Here cypress and pines grow tall and straight, roses and pomegranates hang in clusters from the boughs, and blue-breasted peacocks trail their starry plumage over smooth green lawns, while choirs of angels chant the *Gloria in Excelsis*, or kneel in silent adoration round the manger throne.

Such was the vision which Angelico's scholar painted in the hot summer months when the Medici were enjoying rest and *villeggiatura* in their favourite country houses. Three letters which Benozzo addressed to Piero, who was entertaining illustrious guests at Careggi, show how entirely his heart was in his work and how anxious he was to perfect every detail of his frescoes. In the first, written on the 10th of July, he acknowledges a letter from Piero, who had, it appears, taken objection to certain small cherubs in the corner of the fresco, and explains that they cannot interfere with the rest of the picture, since only the tips of their wings are allowed to be seen. But since Piero desires it, he will paint two white clouds in the sky and cause the offending seraphs to disappear. He would come to Careggi himself and see Piero on the subject, if it were not for the great heat, which will, he fears, spoil the azure which he has begun to lay on. But he hopes Piero will come to see the work before this part of the scaffolding is removed. In the meantime two florins will suffice for his present needs. "I am working with all my might," he adds, "and if I fail, it will be from lack of knowledge, not from want of zeal. God

knows I have no other thought in my heart but how best to perfect my work and satisfy your wishes."

On the 11th of September, Benozzo writes another letter to Piero, whom he calls his dearest friend—*Amico mio singularissimo*—reminding him that he had not sent him the forty florins for which the painter had asked, in order that he might be able to buy corn and provisions, while they were still cheap. "I had," he adds, "a great thought, which was not to ask you for any money until you had seen the work, but necessity compels me to make this request, so forgive me, for, God knows, I only seek to please you. And I must remind you once more, to send to Venice for some azure, because this wall will be finished this week, and I shall need the blue colour for the brocades and other parts of the figures."

On the 25th, he writes a third letter, telling Piero of a Genoese merchant who has 1500 pieces of fine gold for sale, some of which he will require for his work, and begging for ten more florins to pay for the azure, which he has bought at two florins the ounce, from the Prior of the Gesuati, whose ultramarine was famous throughout Italy.

"I had meant to come and see you last Sunday, but the bad weather frightened me. Now I am at work on the other wall, and hope to finish the fresco in another week. And it seems to me a thousand years until your Magnificence shall be here to see for yourself if you are satisfied with the work! May Christ keep you in his favour!— Your BENOZZO, Painter in Florence."

The pains which Benozzo bestowed upon his task were not thrown away, and we find no trace

of the haste and carelessness of drawing which too often marred his work. The subject was admirably suited to his powers, and none of his later frescoes are as entirely successful as these in the Medici Chapel.

His position as the best fresco-painter of the day was now established, and new commissions poured in upon him from all sides. In 1461, he painted the Madonna and Saints, with angels crowned with roses, and goldfinches on the alabaster steps of the throne, which is now in the National Gallery. This fine altar-piece was executed for the Confraternity of S. Marco, which had its Oratory close to the Dominican convent, and Benozzo was expressly desired to imitate Fra Angelico's Virgin, in the neighbouring church, as exactly as possible, and to allow no assistant to help him, but to promise to do the whole work himself, as well, or, if possible, better than any other which he had yet accomplished. About this time he married a girl named Mona Lena, who was twenty years younger than himself and bore him a family of seven children. In the same year he bought a house in the Via del Cocomero, as well as lands outside the walls, and was in prosperous circumstances during the rest of his life, being, as Vasari remarks, both indefatigable in his industry and irreproachable in his conduct.

In 1463, he went to the mountain city of San Gimignano, and there, in Dante's "town of the beautiful towers," he painted another great cycle of frescoes on the life of St. Augustine. This time his patron was Domenico Strambi, a learned Augustinian

friar, who had lectured in philosophy at Oxford and Paris, and went by the name of Doctor Parisinus. The seventeen subjects with which the painter adorned the choir of the Augustinian church were, no doubt, chosen by the learned doctor, whose portrait appears in another large fresco of St. Sebastian protecting the people of San Gimignano from the plague; but the charming fancy and lively humour of the different stories are all Benozzo's own. His love of children finds full play in the early scenes of Augustine's school life, where the boys are seated at lessons in the portico, and the stern schoolmaster points approvingly at the diligent child with one hand, while the other is lifted to strike an unruly scholar. The unlucky victim appears hoisted on the back of a bigger boy, looking round, half curious and half frightened, to see what will happen to him, and another rosy-cheeked child peeps up from his lesson-book to gaze at his comrade in disgrace. No less interesting is the fresco which represents Augustine teaching rhetoric in Rome. The scene is laid in a stately Renaissance hall, with villas and gardens in the background, and on the marble pavement a little dog with shaven back is sitting up on its haunches, while the scholars stand or sit around with varying expressions of attention or indifference on their faces, and one youth is engaged in turning back the richly trimmed sleeve of his fur mantle. Benozzo's taste for architecture is displayed in the Gothic towers and palaces of Tagaste, and in the scene of Augustine's departure from Rome, where he manages not only to introduce the chief monuments of the imperial

city—the Coliseum, Pantheon, Column of Trajan and Pyramid of Cestus—but also the towers and battlements, the loggias and campaniles of the modern city into a single picture. Troops of cavaliers and pages in rich brocades, leading gaily caparisoned horses, escort the Saint on his journey, and fair Milanese ladies, in contemporary costumes, sit under Augustine's pulpit, listening to his sermons, or watch by the death-bed of Monica. Here and there we find little bits of life reproduced with rare felicity — young mothers with children clinging fondly to their arms, girls carrying baskets, and boys at play in the streets, or else a knot of friars bending down and pressing their heads close together, eager to catch the new teacher's words. The last and finest of the whole series is the Death of the Saint. Here, like most Quattrocento masters, he takes Giotto's Death of St. Francis, in Santa Croce, for his model, and represents Augustine in mitre and pontifical robes, lying on a rich mortuary couch, surrounded by a large company of monks and ecclesiastics, who perform the last rites and give vent to their grief in the most passionate manner. The variety of expression on the faces of the mourners is very striking, while the grouping of the figures and the graceful lines of the convent buildings in the background make an admirable picture. Unfortunately, Benozzo too often traded on his reputation, and the numerous altar-pieces which he painted for neighbouring churches and convents, during the three years that he spent at San Gimignano, are executed with a haste and carelessness that are quite unworthy of him. No doubt,

he was largely assisted by inferior artists, and the resemblance which many of his figures bear, both in type and stature, to those of Fra Lippo, is explained by the fact that one of the Carmelite's former assistants, Giusto di Andrea, worked under him at San Gimignano. It was to intercede for Giusto's brother, who had been caught in the act of stealing the monks' bed-clothes at Certaldo, that Benozzo wrote a letter to young Lorenzo de' Medici, whom he addresses as "Most dear to me in Christ," lamenting the scandal which his apprentice had caused, and explaining that up till this time he had always borne an excellent character. "But perhaps," he adds, "God has allowed this to happen for some good end." In the meantime he thanks Lorenzo—who had already, it appears, intervened in the matter—for his good offices with the Vicar of Certaldo, and ends with renewed protestations of devotion to himself and his house, praying that Christ may be with him in eternity.

This letter is dated 4th July, 1467, when Benozzo was still busily engaged on his works at San Gimignano. By the end of the year, however, he had left for Pisa, where a new and gigantic task was awaiting him. This was the decoration of the north wall of the Campo Santo, which had been left unfinished ever since Puccio da Orvieto had painted his three subjects of the Creation, the Death of Abel, and the Flood, eighty years before. On the 9th of January, 1468, he signed a contract with the magistrates of Pisa, by which he agreed to cover the remainder of the north wall with frescoes, at the price of sixty-six florins for each subject, "a task,"

says Vasari, "immense enough to discourage a whole legion of masters." But Benozzo was not the man to shrink from any work, however arduous, and the twenty-four large frescoes which he painted during the next sixteen years, on the wall of the Campo Santo, show that, whatever the limitations of his art might be, his invention was as fertile, his fancy as fresh and bright as ever. The first and best of the series, a work to which Benozzo devoted more time and pains than usual, and which he only finished by the end of the year 1468, is called the Drunkenness of Noah. But although Ham is seen in the corner jeering at the sleeping patriarch and the famous figure of the *Vergognosa di Pisa*, looking back through the fingers of her hand, stands in the background, this subject is only an episode in the picture, which is really a charming representation of a Tuscan vintage. We see the peasants trampling on the fruit in the wine-press, the youths and maidens picking the purple grapes, which hang in luxuriant profusion from the *pergola* above, and carrying them in baskets on their heads, while Noah and his wife, as proprietors of the vineyard, taste the new-made wine, and two frightened children, who have been attacked by a barking dog, take shelter behind the folds of the patriarch's robe. The same pastoral scenes, the same free and joyous country life, enliven the later subjects. Youths and maidens dance hand in hand at Rachel's wedding-feast, shepherds stand at the doors of their tents counting their flocks, young mothers nurse their babes in the shade of cypress and palm, or lead their little ones, as they go to draw water from the well. Elsewhere we meet with troops of hunters bearing falcons on

their wrist, and gay cavaliers with greyhounds and horses, riding down the mountain-side, or see fair-faced Florentine maidens walking dry-shod over the Red Sea.

A Roman triumphal arch fills up the background of the scene, where Esau sells his birthright for a mess of pottage, and in the other subjects Renaissance palaces and antique temples, Gothic churches and classical monuments, pyramids and cupolas, appear crowded together. The Tower of Babel rears its lofty pile to heaven between the palaces and terraced gardens of a populous city and the rural stillness of a green valley, watered by running streams; and Cosimo de' Medici, the great builder, looks on, surrounded by his sons and grandsons, and his favourite Platonists—Marsilio Ficino, Poliziano and Platina.

The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, another subject, in which a goodly array of Florentine scholars and courtiers are introduced, has been deplorably ruined, and the whole series has suffered terribly from damp and neglect. The execution shows a decided falling-off from Benozzo's earlier works, which is, no doubt, due to the haste with which many of the frescoes were painted, and to his employment of inferior assistants. The drawing of the forms is defective, the figures are stiff and wooden, and lacking in freedom and animation, and there is a certain monotony of form and expression throughout the series which becomes wearisome. Benozzo, we feel, is not an original thinker, and more than once he goes back to his old master, Ghiberti, and imitates the compositions of the bas-reliefs on the Baptistery gates. Most of all, we feel his de-

ficiency in scenes like the Destruction of Sodom, where, in spite of all his efforts, he fails to impart the energy of despair, or even the haste of a panic-stricken crowd, to the fugitives on whose heads the avenging fire is in the act of falling. He is far more successful in a subject such as the Adoration of the Magi, which he introduces among these Old Testament subjects, over the chapel door, and in which he appears himself, mounted on a brown horse. Here again, he could fall back on Ghiberti and Angelico's models, while many of his own figures in the Medici Chapel and the church of San Gimignano are repeated.

The final payment which Benozzo received for the last fresco of the series, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba, bears the date of May 11, 1484. During the sixteen years that he worked at the Campo Santo, he had found time to execute frescoes at Volterra and Castel Fiorentino, as well as altar-pieces for the churches and convents of Pisa and the neighbourhood, the best of which is the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, now in the Louvre. In this fine picture, which was originally painted for the Cathedral of Pisa, the Angelic Doctor is represented, throned between Plato and Aristotle, with his vanquished rival, Guillaume de St. Amour, the learned professor of the University of Paris, lying at his feet, while the Pope is seen below pronouncing the decree of the Saint's canonization.

The painter had taken his family with him to Pisa, where he bought a house of his own in the Via S. Maria, and brought his old father, Lese di Sandro, to spend his last days under his roof. But he still owned a house in Florence, and paid occasional visits to his native city. In the income-tax return of 1480, he describes

himself as sixty, and his wife as forty, and gives the ages of his seven children as ranging from eighteen to one year. His eldest son, a youth of eighteen, is described as still going to school; the second boy, of thirteen, is studying mathematics; while the dowry of his eldest daughter, Bartolommea, a girl of fifteen, who married a Florentine burgher, is fixed at 350 florins, and that of his youngest, the infant Maria, has not yet been determined. The last mention we find of our artist is in January 1497, when he valued Alessio Baldovinetti's frescoes in the Trinità church, together with Perugino, Filippino Lippi and Cosimo Rosselli. Early in the next year he died, and was buried in the Campo Santo, immediately under his fresco of the history of Joseph, in a tomb which the citizens of Pisa had given him as a reward for his labours twenty years before. Above his grave is a Latin epigram, which expresses the admiration of his contemporaries for the art which had made birds and beasts and fishes, the green woods and the blue vault of heaven, youths and children, fathers and mothers, all live again on these walls, as no other master had ever done before him. Such was the high meed of praise which Benozzo won in his lifetime, and we who judge his merits with more critical eyes may yet own in him a master whose heart beat with quick response for the fair and pleasant things of life, and tender interests of hearth and home, and across whose vision there sometimes dawned gleams of a higher truth and of a more perfect beauty.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Palazzo Riccardi: Medici Chapel: Frescoes — Procession of the Three Kings, Adoring Angels.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Florence.—Uffizi: 1302. Predella of Pietà and Saints.
" *Palazzo Alessandri:* Predella—St. Zenobius, St. Benedict, Simon Magus, St. Paul.
Castelfiorentino: Frescoes — Madonna and Child, Saints, Burial of the Virgin.
Certaldo: Frescoes—Descent from the Cross.
San Gimignano.—S. Agostino: Choir: Frescoes—Saints and Evangelists, Assumption, Life of Virgin, Life of St. Augustine.
" *Chapel:* Fresco—St. Sebastian.
" *Collegiata: Choir:* Madonna and Child with Saints. *Entrance wall:* Fresco—St. Sebastian.
" *Pinacoteca:* Fresco—Crucifixion.
" *Monte Oliveto:* Fresco—Crucifixion.
" *S. Andrea:* Madonna and Child.
Montefalco.—S. Fortunato: Frescoes — Madonna, Saints and Angels, Madonna and Angels.
" *S. Francesco: Choir:* Frescoes—Life of St. Francis.
Perugia.—Gallery: Sala VII.: 20. Madonna and Child with Saints.
Pisa.—Gallery: Sala VI.: 23. Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels; 24. Madonna and Child with St. Anne.
" *Campo Santo:* Frescoes from Old Testament. Adoration of Magi, Annunciation.
Volterra.—Duomo: Fresco—Procession of Magi.
Rome.—Ara Cœli: Fresco—St. Anthony and Angels.
" *Lateran:* 60. Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels.
Berlin.—Gallery: 60B. Madonna, Saints and Angels.
London. — *National Gallery:* 283. Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels.
Paris.—Louvre: 1319. Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas.
Milan.—Brera · 475. Miracle of St. Dominico.
Vienna. — *Gallery:* 26. Predella — Madonna and Child with Saints.

XIV

COSIMO ROSSELLI

1439–1507

COSIMO ROSSELLI, an artist who was strongly influenced by Benozzo Gozzoli, and who, like that master, chiefly painted frescoes, was the son of a builder, living in the Via del Cocomero. He was born in 1439, and, at the age of fourteen, entered the shop of Neri de' Bicci, an inferior artist who manufactured works of art at a low rate, and drove a prosperous trade, with the help of his sons and brothers and a large number of assistants. When he left Bicci's shop, at the end of three years, Cosimo may have found employment under Benozzo, or worked with Alesso Baldovinetti—who was one of his masters, according to Baldinucci—to whose style his technique and colouring show a marked resemblance. His first dated work, a Madonna and S. Anne, of 1471, at Berlin and another early picture of St. Barbara trampling on a warrior, in the Accademia of Florence, display the angular draperies and harsh tones of the Naturalists, with far less vigour of drawing. But like Benozzo, whom he resembles in his love of architectural detail and homely incident, he is seen to greater advantage in his frescoes. In 1476, he painted the Conversion of S. Filippo Benizzi in the cloisters of the

Annunziata, where Baldovinetti had already executed his Nativity. The learned young doctor of Padua is seen on his knees before a classical temple, gazing on the vision of the Virgin floating through the air in a chariot, while in the other half of the picture, he is in the act of taking the habit of the Servi friars, and the towers of Florence rise on the banks of Arno, in the distance. After this, he was employed to execute frescoes in churches at Fiesole and Lucca, and must have attained considerable reputation, since he was among the Florentine painters who were summoned to Rome in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV., to decorate his newly erected chapel in the Vatican.

Although Cosimo was a far inferior artist to any of the illustrious band of masters who worked with him in the famous chapel, between October 1481 and August 1483, the three frescoes which he painted in the Sistina rank among his best works. The Last Supper is the least successful of the three, and has been entirely re-painted. The figures are carefully grouped, but are lacking in life and expression, and the most interesting part of the picture are the four men in contemporary costume who are introduced, together with a playful little dog, in the foreground. There is more energy and animation in the youths and maidens, dancing round the golden calf, and the group of spectators in the frescoes of Moses descending from Sinai and breaking the tables of the law. In the third subject, both the Sermon on the Mount and the Healing of the Leper are introduced. The figure of Christ, standing on the green mound, with uplifted hand, speaking to the assembled listeners, seems to

have caught something of the dignity and nobleness of Ghirlandajo's Christ in the same chapel; while the mothers and children sitting on the grass, and the boy feeding the lamb, are more in Benozzo Gozzoli's manner. But in the finely draped figures and expressive faces of the listeners, on the left, we trace the hand of a better artist, Cosimo Rosselli's favourite pupil, Piero, who Vasari expressly says, came to Rome with his master, and painted the beautiful landscapes of hill and woodland in the background of both these frescoes. This same refined and imaginative painter, Piero di Cosimo, is now generally recognised to be the artist to whom we owe the Passage of the Red Sea, the fourth fresco formerly ascribed to Cosimo Rosselli in the Sistine Chapel.

Vasari allows Cosimo Rosselli to have been weak in drawing and invention, and very inferior to his companions, but declares that Pope Sixtus IV. was so much delighted with the profusion of gold and ultramarine which he lavished on his frescoes, that he gave him the prize which he had promised to the best master, much to the disgust of the other painters who were working in the Sistina at the same time, and who had laughed at the poverty of his conception and execution. This story, however, is probably a fable of Vasari's invention, and may not be more accurate than the rest of his account of this artist's life and works.

After his return from Rome, in 1486, Cosimo Rosselli painted his fresco of a Miraculous Chalice being borne in procession over the piazza, in the Church of S. Ambrogio, which, in spite of the injuries that it has suffered from the smoke of candles

and incense, is certainly his best work in Florence. The fair-haired youth, wearing a violet cap and red vest with black sleeves, in the group of spectators standing on the piazza, is said to be Pico della Mirandola, the brilliant humanist and favourite companion of Lorenzo de' Medici. An altar-piece of the Assumption, which Cosimo painted in this same church, bears the date of 1498, and a Coronation of the Virgin, in the Chapel of the Giglio family, which he executed for the Cistercian monks' old church of Cestello, now S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, was only begun in December 1505. A year afterwards, in November 1506, Cosimo Rosselli made his will, and the considerable amount of property which he owned refutes Vasari's assertion that he died very poor, having consumed all his substance in the vain pursuit of alchemy, to which he devoted his last years. He died on the 7th of January, leaving only one illegitimate son, named Giuliano, who became an architect. No work bearing Rosselli's name is to be found in the National Gallery, but quite recently Mr Berenson has recognised this master's hand in the little picture of the Combat between Love and Chastity, ascribed to the Florentine School, and which certainly bears a marked resemblance both to the similar allegory at Turin and to the Vision of the Virgin in the fresco of S. Filippo Benizzi in the Servi church.

Although Cosimo's creations are, for the most part, dull and formal, and lack the charm of true artistic inspiration, he was an excellent teacher, who understood the technical side of his art thoroughly, and numbered some of the best painters of the next

generation among his scholars. The sculptor, Benedetto da Majano, was one of his closest friends, as well as the executor of his will, and it was at his recommendation that the promising child Baccio della Porta, afterwards known as Fra Bartolommeo, was placed in Cosimo Rosselli's shop.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence. — *Annunziata: Cloisters.* Fresco — S. Filippo Benizzi.
" *S. Ambrogio:* Fresco — Procession of the Miraculous Chalice.
" *S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi:* Coronation of the Virgin.
" *Accademia:* 52. SS. Barbara, John and Matthew; 160. Nativity.
" *Uffizi:* 63. Coronation of Virgin.
65. Adoration of Magi. 65A. Madonna della Stella.
1280 *bis:* Madonna and Child, Saints and Angels.
" *Corsini:* 339. Madonna and Angels adoring Child.
Fiesole.—*Duomo: Salutati Chapel:* Frescoes.
Lucca.—*Duomo:* Fresco—Story of the Cross.
Rome.— *Vatican: Sistine Chapel:* Frescoes—Sermon on the Mount; Moses destroying the Tables of the Law; Last Supper.
Turin.—*Gallery:* 369. Triumph of Chastity.
Berlin.—59. Madonna and Child, Saints and Angels.
59A. Madonna and Child with St. Anne and other Saints.
71. Entombment.
Cambridge.—*Fitzwilliam Museum:* 556. Madonna and Child with four Saints.
London.—*National Gallery:* 1196. Combat of Love and Chastity.
" *Mr Butler:* St. Katharine of Siena founding her Order.
Oxford.—*University Galleries:* 19. SS. Dominic and Nicholas.

XV

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

1431–1498

PIERO POLLAIUOLO

1443–1496

THE first decisive progress in fifteenth century painting had come from the sculptors Ghiberti and Donatello, and the next step in advance was due to another group of goldsmiths and workers in bronze, who were themselves painters as well as sculptors, and who, by their resolute and persistent endeavours, succeeded in giving their pictures the same plastic relief and modelling that we see in carved metal and stonework. Chief among these was Antonio Pollaiuolo, whom Benvenuto Cellini describes as the best draughtsman of his day in Florence. "He was so great a draughtsman that not only all the goldsmiths worked from his designs, but that many of the best sculptors and painters were glad to make use of them, and by this means attained the highest honour. This man did little else, but he drew marvellously, and always practised the same grand style of drawing." The few paintings and drawings by Antonio's hand which are still in existence prove the truth of Cellini's words, and show not only the wonderful energy and precision of his drawing, but

the great influence which he exerted on contemporary painters. Both Luca Signorelli and Sandro Botticelli owed much to his example, and in his admirable drawing of the nude, he may claim to be the precursor of Michel Angelo himself.

Antonio was born in 1431, and was some twelve years older than his brother Piero, who became his assistant in most of his works. These two brothers, whose lives and labours were so closely bound together, derived their surname of Pollaiuolo from their grandfather, who kept a poulterer's shop. Their father, Jacopo d'Antonio Benci, also surnamed del Pollaiuolo, was one of the goldsmiths employed by Lorenzo Ghiberti, and is said to have executed a wonderful quail in the ornamental work of one of the Baptistery gates. Antonio was apprenticed to his father, but, in 1459, opened a large and handsome shop of his own in the Cow-market, and soon acquired the reputation of being the first metal-worker in Florence. He probably received his first instruction in painting from Andrea del Castagno, whom Vasari mentions as Piero's teacher, and was strongly influenced by Donatello, while both brothers adopted the technique of Alessio Baldovinetti, and followed him in the use of new oil glazes and varnishes. From 1460 to 1480, Antonio executed a large number of works in bronze and silver, including the famous relief of the Baptist's Birth, for the silver retable of the Baptistery, and supplied cartoons of twenty subjects from the life of the Baptist for the wonderful vestments of embroidered brocade still preserved in the Opera del Duomo. These designs show a rare talent for composition, while both his paintings

and drawings reveal that close study of the antique and mastery of anatomy which made Vasari say that he treated nudes in a more modern style than any artist before him. "He not only dissected many human bodies to study their anatomy, but was the first to investigate the action of the muscles and afterwards give them their due place and order in his drawings of the human frame."

The first paintings by the Pollaiuoli of which we have any record, are three figures of Hercules, each five *braccia* high, which, we learn from Antonio himself, were painted by him and his brother Piero for the Medici palace, in 1460. The wonderful little panels of Hercules strangling Antæus, and wrestling with the Hydra, still preserved in the Uffizi, were probably original studies for these works. Of the six life-sized Virtues which the brothers and their assistants painted for the tribunal of the Mercatanzia, two, those of Faith and Prudence, are probably the work of Piero. The smooth polished surface of the picture, the rich ornamental details of the throne and embroidered draperies of the purple mantle, betray the goldsmith's hand; but while most critics recognise Piero's style in the painted figures, that of Antonio is evident in the grand cartoon of Charity, still to be seen on the back of the ruined picture. Three imposing figures of St. Eustace, St. Vincent and St. James, also in the Uffizi, are the work of Piero, and were originally painted, in 1466, for the same sepulchral chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, which Baldovinetti adorned with frescoes, in the church of San Miniato. The life-size portrait of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, in his blue mantle sown with

golden lilies, was painted by Piero when that prince visited Florence in 1471, and hung in the Medici Palace for many years; while his fresco of St. Christopher, at San Miniato outside the gates, which excited the admiration of Michel Angelo, may be the same which has now been removed to the Metropolitan Museum at New York. Another characteristic work by Piero, the Annunciation, now at Berlin, is remarkable for its fine Renaissance architecture and variegated marbles, as well as for the profusion of pearls and gems which adorn the angel's robes and the Virgin's chair. Three kneeling cherubs, playing the organ, lute and viol, are seen in the inner chamber, and the open windows display a wide view of Florence and the Val d'Arno. The same Museum contains Antonio's admirable little picture of David, standing bare-headed, with sling in his hand and legs astride, over Goliath's head—a marvel of youthful life and triumphant action. But the most famous and best preserved of all the Pollaiuoli's paintings is the great St. Sebastian which Antonio painted, in 1475, for the chapel of the Pucci in the Servi church, and which was bought from the Marchese Pucci, in 1857, by the trustees of the National Gallery. This picture of the Saint bound to the trunk of a tree in the foreground of a wide Tuscan landscape, and surrounded by six archers, either aiming their shafts at his body or loading their cross-bows, has no particular beauty of line or grouping, but as a masterpiece of vigorous action and life-like movement it remains unrivalled. "The work," Vasari records, "was more praised than any other ever painted by Antonio. In his determination

to imitate nature to the best of his power, he represented one of these archers leaning his shaft against his heart and bending down to load his bow with all the might of his strong arms: you see the veins and muscles swelling, and the breath being held back, as he puts his whole power into the effort. Nor was this the only figure executed with rare skill, but all the others, in their various attitudes, show the skill and labour which he devoted to this work, which Antonio Pucci fully recognised when he gave him 300 florins, saying that he knew this sum barely paid him for the colours." A study for this admirably modelled figure of St. Sebastian, who lifts his eyes to heaven, above the confusion of bent bows and flying arrows was in the Morelli collection, and is now the property of Signor Frizzoni. The National Gallery is fortunate in possessing another of this rare master's works—the charming little picture of Daphne flying from the embrace of Apollo, who seizes her by the skirts of her green robe, only to see her arms stiffen into laurel boughs at his touch. The picture of Tobias led by the Archangel Raphael, which, Vasari tells us, was painted by the brothers for Or' San Michele, is now at Turin, where it was long ascribed to Botticelli, but has all the characteristic features of the goldsmith-painters. The wide landscape with its rocky heights and castles, winding river and zigzag road descending into the fertile plains, recalls alike the background of the St. Sebastian, and that of Baldovinetti's fresco in the cloister of the Annunziata; while in the little white dog of Bologna breed, which runs before the Angel, Morelli recognises a household pet and com-

panion of the brothers, who figures in more than one of their pictures. Probably the latest painting, executed by the Pollaiuoli was the altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the choir of S. Agostino at San Gimignano, which in style and colouring closely resembles the Berlin Annunciation, and bears the signature of Piero del Pollaiuolo, with the date 1483.

In 1489, Antonio Pollaiuolo was invited to Rome by Pope Innocent VIII. to execute the bronze tomb of his predecessor, Sixtus IV., as well as his own monument, in St. Peter's. The high esteem in which the artist was held in Florence is proved by a letter which Lorenzo de' Medici addressed to his envoy in Rome, on this occasion, recommending the said Antonio, as the "greatest master in the city, and one who, in the opinion of every intelligent person, had never been equalled." On the other hand, we have a proof of Antonio's affection for the Medici in a letter which he wrote from Ostia, in July 1494, to one of the Orsini, promising to execute his bust in bronze, and begging him in return, to obtain leave for him from Piero de' Medici, to visit his farm near Poggio, fifteen miles from Florence. In consequence of the plague then raging in central Italy, no travellers from Rome were allowed to come within twenty miles of the city; but Antonio feels sure that Piero will give him the necessary permission, since he has always been a loyal and devoted servant of his house, and as much as thirty-four years ago, he and his brother executed the works of Hercules which Orsini had seen in the Palazzo Medici. But although Antonio may have wished to see his old home again,

and had completed his magnificent tomb of Sixtus IV. in the previous year, he remained in the service of the reigning Pope, and was joined by his brother Piero, who also settled in Rome for the rest of his life. Lorenzo de' Medici was dead, and the troubled state of Florence offered artists few inducements to return. On the 4th of November 1496, Antonio made a will, leaving 5000 gold ducats to each of his daughters, Marietta and Maddalena, and a piece of land near Florence to his brother Piero, who was at that time very ill and not likely to live. Piero must have died soon afterwards, for we find that his natural daughter, Lisa, received a dowry of 150 *lire* from her uncle on her marriage in the following year; and when Antonio himself died, on the 4th of February 1498, he was buried, by his express desire, in the same grave as his brother, in the church of S. Pietro in Vincula.

A week later the Signory of Florence, hearing that the Cardinal of Benevenuto and Monsignore Ascanio Sforza, owed the dead master certain sums for works which he had executed, sent orders to Domenico Bonsi, envoy of the Republic in Rome, desiring him to use all his influence "on behalf of Mona Lucrezia, widow of this most celebrated sculptor, since he was one of our citizens, and a man unique in his art, and therefore deserves that we should help his heirs for his sake, and as those who hold such excellence in the highest honour."

CHIEF WORKS—
ANTONIO:

Florence.—Uffizi: 73. Cartoon for Charity; 1153. Hercules and Antæus, Hercules and the Hydra.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)

ANTONIO:

Florence.—Torre di Gallo: Fresco—Dance of Nudes.
Turin.—Gallery: 97. Tobias and the Archangel.
Berlin.—Gallery: 73A. David.
London.—National Gallery: 292. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian; 928. Apollo and Daphne.
Newhaven, U.S.A.—Jarves Collection: Hercules and Nessus.

PIERO:

Florence.—S. Niccolò: Assumption.
,, *Uffizi:* 30. Portrait of Galeazzo Sforza; 69. Hope; 70. Justice; 71. Temperance; 72. Faith; 1301. St. Eustace, St. James and St. Vincent; 1306. Prudence; 3358. Profile of Lady.
,, *San Miniato: Capella Portogallo:* Angels.
San Gimignano.—Collegiata: Choir: Coronation of Virgin.
Berlin.—Gallery: 73. Annunciation, and Angels.
New York.—Metropolitan Museum: 85. Fresco—St. Christopher

XVI

ANDREA VERROCCHIO

1435–1488

ANDREA DI CIONE, surnamed Verrocchio from his first master, the goldsmith Giuliano Verrocchio, was the contemporary and rival of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Like that master, Andrea was a goldsmith and sculptor in the first place, and only painted pictures occasionally ; and, like his own great pupil Leonardo, he studied mathematics and geometry, and became an accomplished musician. This talented and many-sided artist was the son of an oven-maker, named Michele di Cione, who afterwards joined the Guild of Stone-cutters, and in his old age held a small office in the Customs. Andrea's mother, Madonna Gemma, died when he was a child, leaving a large family, one of whom, a sister named Tita (Margherita), came to live as a widow in her brother's house, and whose children Andrea treated as if they were his own. The artist himself, the youngest of the family, was born in 1435, and at seventeen had the misfortune to kill one of his companions, a lad named Antonio, who was employed in the woollen trade, by throwing a stone which struck him on the temples, when at play together outside the Porta della Croce. He was tried for this accidental murder

a few months afterwards, but acquitted of intentional homicide. After serving his apprenticeship in Verrocchio's shop, Andrea became an assistant of Donatello, whom he helped in his works in S. Lorenzo, and whom he succeeded in the favour of the Medici. Besides the bronze tombs of Cosimo, and of his sons Giovanni and Piero, in S. Lorenzo, he executed a variety of other works for Lorenzo, including the statuettes of the youthful David in the Bargello, and the wonderful *Putto* with the dolphin, which originally adorned the fountain of Villa Careggi. Andrea also restored antique statues for the Medici palace, designed the helmets worn by Lorenzo and Giuliano at their Tournaments, and planned many of the decorations and pageants which delighted the eyes of Florence on festive occasions. In 1477, he executed one of the silver reliefs for the Baptistery dossal, on which Antonio Pollauiolo was employed, and, soon after 1480, was summoned to Rome by Pope Sixtus IV., to execute silver statuettes of the Apostles, for his new chapel in the Vatican; while in 1483, he finished the noble group of the Incredulity of St. Thomas for Or' San Michele, a work which a contemporary, Landucci, describes in his diary as the finest ornament of that church, and the most beautiful head of Christ that has ever been made.

But Andrea was too versatile a genius to confine himself to any one form of art, and after acquiring great renown as a sculptor he turned his attention to painting. "He was never idle," says Vasari, "but always worked at either sculpture or painting, and often passed from one thing to another, in order not to get tired by working too long at the same subject.

And he designed many cartoons for pictures, and began to paint them, but always left them unfinished." The only picture now in existence that can with any certainty be ascribed to Andrea, is the Baptism, in the Accademia, which he painted for the Vallombrosan friars of S. Salvi, and which is one of the two altar-pieces mentioned by Vasari. Here we find the same vigorous drawing, the same knowledge of anatomy and accuracy of detail, together with the same use of oil glazes on a tempera surface, which are common to all the Florentine goldsmith-painters. Both style and technique are closely akin to those of Baldovinetti and the Pollaiuoli, but there is a higher refinement and grace in the forms, and a truer sense of beauty about the whole. The long-haired Christ standing in the river Jordan with clasped hands and eyes closed in silent devotion, bears a marked likeness to Andrea's noble bronze statue in Or' San Michele, while the foremost angel with the golden locks and fair face, kneeling under the palm-tree on the bank, is said to be by the hand of Leonardo, who was at this time working in Verrocchio's *bottega*. The youthful charm of the figure and the fine effect of softened light in the rocky landscape, as well as the skilful handling of oils, all point to this conclusion ; but it is impossible to speak with certainty on the subject, or to decide the exact share which Leonardo had in his master's works. The beautiful little Annunciation, formerly in the Church of Monte Oliveto, and now in the Uffizi, was formerly given to Leonardo, but is now generally held to be Verrocchio's work. Here we have the same lovely effect of twilight sky behind

the pines and cypresses of the garden, but the type of the faces, the decorative stone-work of the Virgin's desk, and the general character of the whole are still in the goldsmith's style. A half-length Madonna, at Berlin, looking down on the laughing Child, who stretches out both arms to her, and a Virgin and Child between the Angels, in the National Gallery, which has been the subject of much discussion, are now ascribed by several critics to Verrocchio. Both of these pictures were formerly given to the Pollaiuoli, but bear far more resemblance to Andrea's terra-cotta reliefs, while the angels in the National Gallery painting recall those in the Baptism at Florence.

Another group of pictures in which Mr Berenson and other critics recognise Verrocchio's hand, are the three profile-portraits of young Florentine women, which are respectively in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, the Berlin Gallery and the Uffizi. These famous busts, with the same fair hair elaborately coiled and plaited, the same square bodice of rich brocade, and the same clear-cut features, painted in pale tints in flat relief against deep blue sky, are plainly the work of a sculptor, and bear a strong likeness to Andrea's own carved busts in the Bargello. They belong, we feel, to the same class of work as those which Vasari describes when he speaks of Verrocchio's drawings of women-heads, distinguished by a beautiful style and arrangement of the hair, which Leonardo da Vinci often imitated, because of their rare beauty. At the same time, their strong individuality and portrait-like character remind us that Andrea was one of the first artists to take plaster-casts of living personages, from which

he afterwards made busts, and that "twenty masks taken from nature" were among the works which he executed for the Medici. A picture of another class, the fine portrait of a Florentine lady with rippling hair and refined features, which still bears Leonardo's name, in the Lichtenstein Gallery, at Vienna, can with more certainty be ascribed to Andrea's hand, and may possibly represent Lucrezia Donati, the Queen of Lorenzo's Tournament. But little as remains to us of Andrea's painted work, and doubtful as is the attribution of these few pictures it is at least certain that he was the master of two of the greatest masters of the next generation—the Umbrian Perugino and the Florentine Leonardo. In these busts and statues, which wear so life-like and speaking an expression, in these admirably drawn heads and delicately rounded cheeks, with full eyes and curly locks, in the bronze Christ of Or' San Michele, and the lovely angel of the Uffizi, we have the germ of Leonardo's art. Here, dimly foreshadowed in the master's creations, we find already that power of expression and exquisite grace which is the secret of the scholar's indefinable charm.

Andrea never married; his art was enough to fill his whole life, as Leonardo found in his turn, and his pupils were dear to him as his own children. To the one he loved best of all, Lorenzo di Credi, he left, by his will, the task of finishing the great equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni, which the Venetian Senate had invited him to execute. The work had been given him in 1479, but it was not till the summer of 1488, that his model was finally completed; and just as he was about to cast the statue in bronze, he

FLORENTINE LADY.

(MUSEO POLDI-PEZZOLI, MILAN)—ANDREA VERROCCHIO.

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fell ill and died in Venice. After his death, the task of casting this statue was given to the Venetian sculptor Leopardi, but his faithful scholar, Lorenzo di Credi, brought home his master's remains to Florence and buried them in his father's grave in San Ambrogio.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia: **71.** Baptism of Christ.
,, *Uffizi:* 3450. Annunciation; 1204. Profile of Lady.
Milan.—Museo Poldi-Pezzoli: 157. Profile of Lady.
Berlin.—Gallery: 104*a*. Madonna and Child; 1614. Profile of Lady.
London. — National Gallery: 296. Madonna and Child with Angels.
Vienna.—Lichtenstein Gallery: **32.** Portrait of Lady.

XVII

SANDRO BOTTICELLI

1444–1510

THE two separate tendencies which mark the course of Florentine art during the first half of the fifteenth century meet in the person of Sandro Botticelli. A pupil of Lippi and a fellow-workman of the Pollaiuoli, this most interesting master inherited the traditions of both schools, and combined the dramatic art of Masaccio's followers, and the goldsmith-painters' energy of line, with a feeling as human as that of Fra Filippo, as spiritual as that of Angelico. Botticelli is in an especial manner the representative of Lorenzo de' Medici's age. The range of his art is as wide as the culture of the Renaissance, and his work reflects the different currents of thought, the aspirations and ideals of his contemporaries, more fully than that of any other Florentine painter. But over all he throws the glamour of his own personality, the spell of a fine artistic nature and the passion of a profoundly sympathetic heart. Whether he paints Greek goddesses or Saints and Madonnas, it is the same intensely personal type, the same sad and wistful expression that meets our eyes and invites our

sympathy. This rare union of gifts made Botticelli, during his life-time, not only the favourite painter of the Magnifico, but the most popular master in Florence. The extraordinary demand which sprung up for his works towards the close of the century is shown by the immense number of Madonnas, bearing the stamp of his invention, but executed by imitators and assistants, which may be seen in every gallery. And although his fame died away in the blaze of Michelangelo's renown, and his works were not held worthy of preservation by the art-loving Grand-dukes of the seventeenth century, the present generation has witnessed a curious revival of Botticelli's popularity. Perhaps no painter of the Renaissance has so peculiar a fascination for modern minds. Some of us are charmed by his wonderful sense of life and movement, by his mastery of line and decorative design. Others are moved by the poetry of his imagination, by his strong human emotion and mystic feeling. Alessandro Filipepi was the youngest child of a prosperous tanner named Mariano, who lived in the parish of Ognissanti, and had four sons. The eldest of these, Giovanni, was a broker by trade, and the surname of Botticello—which he acquired from the barrel that was the sign of his shop—clung to the younger members of his family. Born in 1444, Sandro was first apprenticed to a goldsmith, but soon began to paint, and worked under Fra Filippo Lippi both at Florence and Prato. When, in 1467, the Carmelite went to Spoleto, Botticelli was already an independent master, and Vasari tells us that after Lippi's death, two years later, his scholar was held to be the best painter in Florence.

The earliest works we have from his hand are two

panels, one long, the other round, of the Adoration of the Magi, in the National Gallery. Both are there ascribed to Botticelli's pupil Filippino, but bear far more likeness to the work of that artist's father, Fra Filippo, who may himself have had a share in the composition. The Virgin and Child certainly resemble the friar's types, but the animated throng of spectators and their expressive faces reveal the hand of the scholar. The next group of Sandro's works—the seated figure of *Fortezza*, and the little pictures of Judith that once adorned Bianco Capello's studio—show that after his old master left Florence, he must have been closely associated with the Pollaiuoli brothers. The *Fortezza*, indeed, is a companion picture to the Virtues painted by these masters for the Mercatanzia, and is executed in the same sculptural style and pale colouring as their works. The same embroidered draperies, jewelled armour and variegated marbles adorn both Pollaiuolo and Botticelli's figures, but the bent head and weary, yet resolute, expression of Sandro's Fortitude show his finer and more imaginative conception. The same peculiar type of face, long neck, angular features, high cheek-bones and dreamy eyes, are repeated in his Judith, as, with sword in one hand and olive branch in the other, she returns over the hill-country to Bethulia, strong in the might of the great deed which she has done. In her swift action and fluttering garments we already see the love of movement which is a characteristic feature of Sandro's art, while the dramatic quality of his imagination is equally apparent in the companion subject, where the servants and friends of Holofernes look with grief and horror on his headless corpse.

Botticelli's genius soon attracted Lorenzo de' Medici's notice, and at his command the young artist painted a St. Sebastian for the church of S. Maria Maggiore. This noble figure, now in the Berlin Gallery, was probably executed before Antonio Pollaiuolo's more famous version of the subject, and although inferior as an exhibition of technical skill to the elder master's work, shows a far higher sense of beauty and power of expression. To these same early days we may assign the lovely Chigi Madonna, now in America, with the youthful Angel, crowned with green bay leaves, offering a dish of grapes and ripe ears of wheat to the Child.

In 1474, Botticelli was invited to assist Benozzo Gozzoli in the decoration of the Campo Santo, and spent the summer months at Pisa, where he began a panel of the Assumption, for the Duomo, and received payments for the ultramarine which he employed, but never seems to have finished his picture. His presence was required at home, and during the next few years he became closely associated with the fortunes of the Medici. Lorenzo's keen eye early recognised the quick sympathy and fine poetic feeling which fitted Sandro to be the painter of these classic myths and fancies dear to the scholars and humanists who met in the halls of the Via Larga, or spent the summer days at the Magnifico's pleasant country-houses. It was for his kinsman Lorenzo di Pier Francesco's villa of Castello that Botticelli painted his famous pictures of the Birth of Venus, the Primavera, and Mars and Venus, which breathe the charmed atmosphere of Lorenzo's songs and Poliziano's idylls. All three of these pictures, so full of the

spirit of the Renaissance, and so strangely unlike the Greek world of which the Florentine humanists were enamoured, owe their inspiration to Poliziano's *Giostra*. In this unfinished poem he had celebrated the Tournament held on the Piazza of Santa Croce, in 1475, when the handsome Giuliano de' Medici, clad in silver armour, bore away the prize in the presence of his adored lady, Simonetta. This wondrous Venus floating on the waves and blown by the winds to the laurel groves on the summer shore, is there described exactly as Sandro painted her, laying one hand on her snowy breast, and the other on her long tresses of yellow hair. The poet had sung of the roses fluttering in the air and of the nymph in her white robe patterned over with blue corn-flowers, waiting to welcome the new-born goddess, and spreading out a pink mantle sown with daisies to fold round her white limbs. And in the first Canto of his *Giostra*, Poliziano had repeated that favourite tale of the Loves of Mars and Venus, which Lorenzo himself afterwards made the theme of one of his poems, and which is the subject of Botticelli's panel in the National Gallery. Here Venus, robed in gold-embroidered draperies, reclines in a woodland glade, watching the strong, broad-chested god of war, with limbs relaxed and drowsy head, lying on the grass sunk in deep slumber, while little goat-footed cherubs play with his armour at her feet. As a study of line and a purely decorative work, this composition is an admirable one ; as an interpretation of a Greek myth by a Florentine painter it is of rare interest.

Once more, in his beautiful vision of Primavera, Sandro has given utterance to that fulness of joy in

the return of spring and the beauty of the young May-time which was the favourite theme of Tuscan poets. All the bright and pleasant imagery of Lorenzo's *Ambra*, or the *Rusticus* of Poliziano, lives again in this fair picture of the "laurel groves which sheltered the singing-birds who carolled to the Tuscan spring." Here Queen Venus holds her court and Spring comes, garlanded with roses, while flowers spring up at her feet, and the Graces dance hand in hand under myrtle bowers. There Zephyr sports with Flora, dropping roses from her lips, and Mercury, in the form of Giuliano, scatters the clouds of winter, all unaware that Cupid is aiming an arrow at his heart. But the shadow of coming doom hung over these dreams of love and joy. Before Poliziano had finished his poem, fair Simonetta died suddenly, and was borne, with her face uncovered, to the grave, amid the tears and lamentations of all Florence. Two years afterwards, on the 26th April, 1478, Giuliano was murdered, by the treachery of the Pazzi, during high mass in the Duomo, and fell pierced with nineteen wounds before the altar. Botticelli was employed to paint the effigies of the conspirators on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico, and when, in 1480, Lorenzo returned safely from his perilous mission to the court of Naples, Sandro celebrated the triumph of the Medici over their foes in his picture of Pallas subduing the Centaur. Vesuvius and the Bay of Naples are seen in the distance, and in the foreground the Centaur, emblem of anarchy and crime, cowers before the victorious goddess, who, wreathed with olive boughs and wearing the interlaced rings of the Medici on her

white robe, represents the triumph of peace and wisdom.

The portraits of Lorenzo's mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, and of "*la bella Simonetta*," which Vasari tells us were both painted by Sandro, have disappeared, but his fine bust of Giovanni de' Medici, holding a medal of his father Cosimo, is preserved in the Uffizi, as well as the striking portrait of Giuliano in the Morelli collection. Three generations of the family are represented in the Adoration of the Magi which Lorenzo employed Botticelli to paint for Santa Maria Novella, as a thank-offering for his escape from the assassin's hand. We see a marked departure from old traditions in the way in which the religious significance of the subject is sacrificed, and the sacred story transformed into an apotheosis of the Medici. Cosimo, a venerable, white-headed form in green and gold mantle, kneels before the Child; his son Piero, in a scarlet robe, looks round at his brother Giovanni, and the lamented Giuliano stands behind them, clad all in black, with his thick, dark locks overshadowing his melancholy face. Lorenzo himself stands at his horse's side in the left-hand corner, where the donor is usually introduced, and on the opposite side, we recognise the portrait of the painter, wearing a long orange mantle and looking over his shoulder with a keen, thoughtful expression on his strong face. The picture is a masterpiece of grouping and modelling, and bears a close likeness to Leonardo's unfinished Adoration, in the Uffizi. Sandro had known the great master, who was but six years his junior, from his early days in Verrocchio's workshop, and is the only painter

PALLAS (PALAZZO PITTI)—SANDRO BOTTICELLI.

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whom Leonardo mentions by name in his *Trattato*, where he speaks of him as "our Botticello."

The Vespucci family, to which Simonetta belonged, were among Botticelli's best patrons. For their palace in the Via de' Servi he painted a series of graceful subjects, "full of beautiful and animated figures," set in richly carved walnut frames. The panels of the Story of Virginia, at Bergamo, and the Death of Lucrezia, now in America, agree with this description; but the violent action and exaggerated gestures in the similar pictures on the Miracles of St. Zenobius point to a later period. For the Vespucci Botticelli also painted the noble fresco of St. Augustine at his desk in the church of Ognissanti, which in its wonderful energy and rapt expression offers so marked a contrast to the cold decorum of Ghirlandajo's St. Jerome, on the opposite wall. This work bears the date of 1480, in which year, we learn from the register, Sandro was living in the Via S. Lucia near Ognissanti, with his old father Mariano, who was eighty-six years old and unable to work—"*non fa più nulla*." Giovanni, the eldest son, is here described as a broker; Antonio, the second, a goldsmith, "who also sells books," is at Bologna and has a large family; while Simone, who, as a boy, had gone to Naples in the service of a Florentine merchant, is still living there, and Sandro, whose age is given as thirty-three, is a painter and "works in the house when he chooses."

In the following year, Botticelli went to Rome, on the recommendation of Lorenzo de' Medici, to assist in the decoration of Pope Sixtus the Fourth's new chapel which, built by a Florentine architect, Dolci,

was now to be adorned by the best Florentine masters. On the 27th of October, 1481, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Cosimo Rosselli, and Perugino signed a contract, by which they agreed to paint ten frescoes from the Old and New Testament, on the chapel walls, in the space of six months. According to Vasari, Sandro was appointed Director of the Works, and we recognise his hand in the early figures of the frieze of Popes which runs along the upper part of the walls, as well as in three of the large compositions from the life of Moses and Christ, the type and anti-type. The first of these, generally known as the Temptation of Christ, occupies the central place on the wall, immediately opposite the papal throne, between Pinturicchio's Baptism and Ghirlandajo's Calling of the Apostles. Satan is seen in the habit of a Franciscan friar, first pointing to the stones at the feet of Christ, then standing at His side on a pinnacle of the temple, and finally hurled into space by the word of the Lord. But these three scenes, which connect Sandro's fresco with the rest of the series, are only introduced as minor incidents, and the real subject of the picture, as Dr. Steinmann has lately shown, is the Purification of a Leper according to the law of Moses. The rites in use on this occasion are minutely depicted. On the right, the leper's wife is seen bringing her offering of two doves, a girl, bearing wood for the burnt offering, advances on the left, and in the centre of the picture the high priest receives the blood of the victim in a golden bowl from the hands of a youth, while the leper, still feeble and suffering, is slowly led up the steps of the altar by his friends. The Renaissance temple in the background is an exact reproduction of the façade of the

hospital of S. Spirito, which had been lately erected by Pope Sixtus, while portraits of his nephews, Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II., holding a white cloth in his hands, and Girolamo Riario, bearing the staff of papal Gonfaloniere, are introduced in the group on the right. The foliage of the oak, the badge of the della Rovere family, figures prominently among the trees in the foreground, and the whole composition is evidently intended to be a glorification of Pope Sixtus. The second fresco suffers from the same confusion of subjects and want of unity, and contains no less than seven different scenes from the early history of Moses. But the details are full of charm, and in the central episode of Jethro's Daughter at the well, we have a lovely idyll of pastoral life. Sandro rarely painted a more graceful figure than this of Zipporah standing among her maidens under the palm-trees by the stream, with a myrtle wreath in her hair, and a distaff and apple-branch, the symbol of labour and its reward, in her hand. In the third fresco, the Destruction of Korah, the grand figure of Moses standing before the altar with his rod stretched out to destroy the rebellious people, gives a certain unity to the whole, and the scene of tumult and confusion is rendered with dramatic vividness. The whole series abounds in reminiscences of classical architecture and sculpture, and shows how profoundly Sandro was impressed by the monuments of ancient Rome. The portrait-heads in the fresco of Korah are especially remarkable for beauty and character, and among the dignitaries of the papal court, in sumptuous robes, we recognise the dreamy eyes and finely-cut features of the

painter himself, clad in a sober suit of black, and wearing an artist's cap on his curly locks.

The frescoes of the Sistina were not finished until August 1483, and before he left Rome, Botticelli painted another Adoration of the Magi, probably the version now at St. Petersburg, in which a ruined arch and a group of horses, evidently suggested by the famous statues on Monte Cavallo, are introduced. This little picture is a gem of the purest water. There are fewer figures than in the Uffizi altar-piece, but these are instinct with life and passion, and are set in a wide and lovely landscape, which goes far to redeem Sandro from Leonardo's reproach of having painted *tristissimi paesi*. In 1484, Botticelli returned to Florence, but does not seem to have ever executed the important commission of decorating the Hall of Audience in the Palazzo Pubblico, which had been given him in his absence. In the following year, he painted the Berlin altar-piece of the Madonna, throned in a leafy bower between a haggard St. John the Baptist and a white-bearded St. John the Evangelist. The delicate foliage of palm and olive, cypress and myrtle, and the tall white lilies and bowls of red and white roses along the marble parapet, are painted with exquisite care, and the whole effect is singularly decorative. This fine picture, originally executed for the Bardi Chapel in San Spirito, is one of the few of Botticelli's Madonnas to which we can assign a date with any certainty, since a document in the Guiccardini archives records a payment of twenty-eight florins, in February 1485, to the carpenter who supplied the wood, and of seventy-eight florins, in the following August, to "Sandro del Botticiello" for the time and

materials which he had spent upon the work. In 1486, our painter was employed by Lorenzo de' Medici's uncle, Giovanni Tornabuoni, to decorate the hall of his villa near Fiesole, in honour of his son's wedding. Two of the frescoes which he painted on this occasion were discovered under a coat of white-wash in 1873, and removed to the Louvre. In the one, the bridegroom, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, is welcomed by the seven Arts and Sciences, and Philosophy seated on a throne in their midst. In the other, his bride, Giovanna degli Albizzi, a charming maiden clad in a red robe, receives the gifts of four fair damsels, who represent the cardinal Virtues. Sandro excelled in the representation of these allegorical subjects, and his tribute to Lorenzo's culture and Giovanna's virtues won the applause of all Florence. But ere long a change passed over his art. In 1489, Savonarola came to Florence and began to preach, first in his convent church of San Marco, then to the crowds who flocked to hear him in the Duomo. His voice had a strange fascination for the scholars and artists of Lorenzo's immediate circle. Poliziano and Pico, Cronaca and Michelangelo, all heard him gladly, and took part in the great revival. And Sandro caught what Vasari, in his contemptuous manner, calls the prevailing frenzy, and threw himself into the Frate's cause with all the energy of his nature. He illustrated Savonarola's sermons, painted banners for his processions, and designed a large engraving of the Triumph of Fra Girolamo. He did not, like some of his brother artists, throw his pagan studies on the Bonfire of Vanities, but he gave up painting secular subjects, and, in obedience to Savonarola's teaching

no longer introduced portraits of his contemporaries into his sacred pictures.

In the absence of dates, it is difficult to say with any certainty which of Botticelli's numerous Madonnas belong to this period; but there can be little doubt that these sorrowful Virgins, burdened with a mysterious sense of coming woes, were inspired by the eloquent and impassioned words in which the great preacher paints the Mother of Sorrows. There is the lovely Madonna of the Pomegranate, with the six child-angels bearing lilies and choir-books, in the Uffizi, and the Mother nursing her Child in the Ambrosiana and turning the leaves of the missal, in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum. There is the noble S. Barnabà altar-piece of the throned Virgin, surrounded by angels bearing instruments of the Passion, and worshipped by six saints, who represent different types of struggling humanity—Michael and Katherine in their youthful beauty, the scholar-saints Ambrose and Augustine between the ascetic Baptist and Barnabas, the Son of Consolation. There is the great Coronation —which was ordered for Savonarola's own convent church by the Guild of Silk Weavers—with its troop of angels scattering roses and dancing on the clouds of heaven in a tumult of wild rapture, and below, the aged St. John and St. Jerome, fired with the same triumphant joy. Above all, there is the famous *tondo* of the Magnificat, which in beauty of design and depth of feeling surpasses all others. The Virgin, wearing a green and gold mantle, and a transparent veil over her fair tresses, is in the act of dipping her pen into the ink, to write her song of praise on the pages of an open missal, and the Child on her knee

looks up in her face with a sudden flash of inspiration. Two angels place a crown upon her head, two others hold her book and inkstand, and between the bowed faces we catch a lovely glimpse of the Arno valley. At this moment when Mary realises all her glory, when angels crown her brows, and the Child guides her pen to write the words that pronounced her blessed, the sword pierces her heart with a foretaste of coming agony. In this wonderful picture Sandro has attained an ideal of divine tenderness and sorrow which few painters have ever equalled.

An unfinished picture, evidently designed by our master, has lately been brought out of the magazines of the Uffizi, and, although coarsely re-painted, is of deep interest as showing his close connection with the *piagnone* movement. The seven magistrates of Florence are represented kneeling before Mary and her Child, while Savonarola himself, standing by in his Dominican habit, points with outstretched arm to the new-born King, and turning to Lorenzo de' Medici at his side, adjures him to own the supremacy of Christ. A great concourse of horsemen and spectators are crowding through the city-gates, and among the foremost figures we recognise the portraits of Benivieni, the favourite poet of the Medici, who had become a devout *piagnone*, and of Leonardo, who was one of the architects summoned by Savonarola to draw up plans for the hall of the Great Council. The picture was evidently painted to commemorate the events of 1495, when, after the death of Lorenzo and expulsion of his sons, Christ was proclaimed King of Florence, the City of God.

Through the troublous times that followed, Sandro

remained in his old home. In 1496, Michelangelo addressed a letter from Rome to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, the only Medici who dared remain in Florence, under cover to Botticelli, bearing the *piagnone* motto—*Christus!* And in 1498, the year of Savonarola's execution, Sandro and his brother Simone, we learn from the registers, were living together in the Via Nuova, and owned a farm and vineyard outside the Porta San Frediano. Simone, who had lately returned from Naples, was a zealous *piagnone*, who was present at the trial by fire, and left a curious chronicle of contemporary events which has been lately discovered in the Vatican. One incident which he records is that of a conversation held on the evening of All Souls, 1499, in Sandro's workshop, which he describes as being at that time an Academy of unemployed painters, who met there often and disputed much about Savonarola. That evening as they gathered round the fire, about eight o'clock, and argued after their wont, Sandro solemnly adjured Doffo Spini, a leading partisan of the Medici, who had been present at Fra Girolamo's trial, to tell him what they found in the saintly man to deserve so vile an end. Doffo replied: "Sandro, must I speak the truth? We never found in him any venial sin, much less any mortal sin." Then Sandro asked: "Why did you make him die so vilely?" And Doffo replied: "It was not I, but Benozzo Federighi who was the cause of the prophet's death. But in truth, if he had been set free and sent back to San Marco, the people would have sacked our houses and cut us all to pieces."

This curious narrative throws light on two of

Botticelli's last pictures, the Calumny—which he painted towards the end of his life for his intimate friend Antonio Segni—and the Nativity, in the National Gallery. The subject of the former is taken from Lucian's account of the picture by Apelles, which Alberti quoted in his "Treatise on Painting," but the fierce strife of factions in Florence, and the tragedy of Savonarola's end, may well have stirred the master to paint this allegory of the violence and injustice of man. The scene is laid in a stately portico adorned with antique statues, where King Midas, wearied by the importunities of Suspicion and Ignorance, receives Calumny, a richly-clad woman, who drags the prostrate youth Innocence by the hair. Envy, Treachery, and Intrigue attend her steps, and Remorse, an old hag in ragged clothes, looks back regretfully at Truth, who, standing deserted and alone, points upwards in calm certainty that her mute appeal will be heard in heaven. Through the pillars of the open loggia we look out on a wide waste of waters, bounded by no further shore, which gives an indefinable sense of dreariness—the expression of the painter's conviction that truth and justice were nowhere to be found on earth. The Nativity was painted a few months after that November evening when Sandro extorted Doffo Spini's confession of the martyred friar's innocence, and a Greek inscription on the panel explains its mystic intention:

"This picture I, Alessandro, painted at the end of the year 1500, in the troubles of Italy, in the half-time after the time, during the fulfilment of the Eleventh of St. John, in the Second

Woe of the Apocalypse, in the loosing of the devil for three years and a half. Afterwards, he shall be chained according to the Twelfth of John, and we shall see him trodden down as in this picture."

The Holy Family, as usual, form the central group, and the Shepherds and Magi kneel on either side. A troop of angels, clad in symbolic hues of red, white, and green, sing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, on the penthouse roof, and in the heavens above, twelve more seraphs dance hand-in-hand, swinging olive-boughs and dangling their golden crowns in an ecstacy of joy. In the foreground the devils are seen crawling away to hide under the rocks, while rejoicing angels fall on the necks of Savonarola and his martyred companions,—the witnesses slain for the word of their testimony, as told in the Revelation of St. John. So Botticelli would have us know that in these dark times when vice and wickedness ran riot in the streets of Florence, and contemporary writers tell us that there was "no reverence for holy things, nor fear of shame," his faith in the Friar never faltered, and that he still looked forward to a day when the prophet's word should be fulfilled and good triumph over evil.

Sandro's old connection with the Medici saved him from the persecution which overtook the leading *piagnoni*, and during his last years he was chiefly engaged in illustrating Dante's great poem. He had always been a student of the divine poet, and probably executed designs for the plates in the first printed edition of the *Divina Commedia*, published by Landino in 1481, while a line from the *Paradiso*:—

"Vergine madre, figlia del tuo figlio"—

is inscribed on the throne of the Madonna which he

painted for the convent of S. Barnabà. The eighty-four drawings in illustration of the *Divina Commedia*, formerly at Hamilton Palace, and now at Berlin, were executed by him for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, who remained in Florence until his death in 1503. Eight sheets from the same volume, once the property of Queen Christina of Sweden, are now in the Vatican. The whole series is of the deepest interest, especially the illustrations of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, which reveal the mystic tendency of Sandro's imagination, while his love of delicate foliage, of fluttering draperies and showering roses, appears at every page. In the last design Beatrice is seen, crowned with flowers, standing with the poet at her side, in the highest spheres of Paradise, attended by nine circles of rejoicing angels, and one little cherub bearing a cartellino with the artist's name, Sandro di Mariano.

In January, 1504, Botticelli, although infirm and old, came out of his retreat to meet his old friend Leonardo and the other chief masters in Florence, and choose a site for Michelangelo's David. After that we hear no more until, on the 17th May, 1510, he was buried in his father's vault in the church of Ognissanti.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Ognissanti.—Fresco—St. Augustine.

Accademia: 73. Coronation of the Virgin (San Marco).
74. Predella of the Annunciation and Saints.
80. Spring.
85. Madonna with Saints and Angels (S. Barnabà).
157-162. Predella of Dead Christ and Saints.

Uffizi: 39. Birth of Venus.
1154. Portrait of Giovanni de' Medici.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued.*)—

Florence.—Uffizi: 1156. Judith.
1158. Holofernes.
1179. St. Augustine.
1182. Calumny.
1267. *bis.* Magnificat.
1286. Adoration of the Magi.
1289. Madonna of the Pomegranate.
1299. Fortezza.
3436. Adoration of Christ as King of Florence.
,, *Palazzo Pitti:* Pallas subduing a Centaur.
,, *Palazzo Capponi:* Communion of St. Jerome.
Bergamo.—Morelli Gallery: Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici.
Story of Virginia.
Milan.—Ambrosiana: 145. Madonna and Child with Angel.
,, *Poldi-Pezzoli Museum:* 156. Madonna and Child.
Rome.—Sistine Chapel: Frescoes—Moses and the Daughters of Jethro; Destruction of Korah; Purification of a Leper, with the Temptation of Christ; Portraits of Popes.
Berlin.—Gallery: 106. Madonna and Saints.
1128. St. Sebastian.
Dresden.—Gallery: Scenes from Life of St. Zenobius.
London.—National Gallery: 592. Adoration of the Magi.
626. Portrait of Youth.
915. Mars and Venus.
1033. Adoration of the Magi (*tondo*)
1034. Nativity.
Mr. Heseltine: Madonna and Child, with St. John.
Mr. Mond: Scenes from Life of St. Zenobius.
St. Petersburg.—Hermitage: 3. Adoration of the Magi.
Boston, U.S.A.—Mrs. Gardner: Madonna and Child, with Angel; Death of Lucretia.
Paris.—Louvre: 1297. Frescoes of Lorenzo and Giovanni Tornabuoni.

N.B.—A full and critical account of this master's life and works will be found in Mr. Horne's "Sandro Botticelli" (Bell, 1908), while a no less admirable description of the Dante drawings is given by Mr. Berenson in his "Drawings of Florentine Masters" (Murray, 1904).

XVIII

FILIPPINO LIPPI

1457–1504

FILIPPINO LIPPI was the son of Fra Filippo and Lucrezia Buti, the nun of Prato, and adopted this name to distinguish him from his father. He was born at Prato, in 1457, and received his first training from Fra Filippo, after whose death, in 1469, he returned to Florence with Fra Diamante and was placed in Sandro Botticelli's workshop. Under the eye of this master, who, we are told by Vasari, took the keenest interest in promising students, the boy made rapid progress, and soon became an independent master. With none of Sandro's genius, and without any strong individuality of his own, Filippino was a clever and accomplished artist, whose pleasant and gentle nature made him a general favourite. His early works—a *tondo* of the Madonna and Child, with angels offering flowers, in the Corsini Gallery, an Annunciation at Naples, and a panel of four Saints in a meadow, at San Michele of Lucca—show a marked likeness to Fra Filippo's style, together with a grace and refinement peculiar to himself. His own qualities and his father's memory

secured him the favour of the Medici and brought him important commissions. In 1482, when he was only five-and-twenty, he was engaged to paint a fresco in a hall of the Palazzo Pubblico, at the same terms which had been offered to Perugino, who had gone to Rome without executing the work. Two years later, he was chosen by the Carmelite friars to complete the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel which Masaccio had left unfinished in 1428. The Brancacci family was extinct, and now that the chapel had become the property of the convent, the friars were anxious to complete the work. The best fresco-painters—Botticelli, Ghirlandajo and Rosselli—were absent in Rome, so, by Lorenzo de' Medici's advice, they entrusted the task to the son of Fra Filippo, who had himself been a brother of their order. The result justified the wisdom of their choice, and the five subjects which the young master painted in the famous chapel are not unworthy of the proud place they occupy. First of all, Filippino completed Masaccio's unfinished fresco of the Raising of the King's Son, adding the kneeling figure of the youth, the group of men under the wall, on the left, and the row of eight figures on the right. All of these are said to be portraits of contemporary personages. The naked boy is the painter Francesco Granacci, then fourteen years of age, and among the citizens on the left are Filippino's patron, Piero della Pugliese, the poet Pulci, Marco Soderini, and Piero Guicciardini, the father of the historian. On the opposite wall, Filippino, following Masaccio's example, combined two subjects in one large fresco, the Trial of St.

Peter and St. Paul before the tribunal of Nero, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. The figure of Nero, seated on his throne under a green baldacchino and stretching out his arm towards the prisoners, is full of dignity, and his head is copied from Roman medals. As before, the spectators are chiefly portraits of well-known Florentines. We recognise Antonio Pollaiuolo in the tall man with the long nose and high cap, standing near Cæsar, and Filippino himself in the graceful and picturesque youth in the right-hand corner, while Sandro Botticelli, clad in a red mantle and grey cap, is one of the three men standing immediately in front of the archway which connects the two subjects, watching the scene of martyrdom. All the progress which Painting had made during the last sixty years, the wonderful advance in realistic portraiture and scientific knowledge, the mastery of problems of chiaroscuro and perspective, which Masaccio had first tried to solve, and which were now the common property of every artist's apprentice, are embodied in this fresco. But although so much fresh ground had been gained, and although Filippino was undoubtedly one of the cleverest and most accomplished masters of his age, his composition fails to reach the power and grandeur of Masaccio's works. He was more successful in the two smaller subjects which he painted on the pilasters below Masaccio's frescoes of Adam and Eve, at the entrance of the chapel. The figure of St. Paul addressing St. Peter as he prays behind his prison-bars, is solemn and noble, and the young soldier, sleeping on his bench outside the prison, while the angel opens the doors and delivers the captive, has

the simple charm and grace that are Filippino's most attractive qualities.

During the next few years, the young master painted several of his finest works. In 1486, he finished a large picture of the enthroned Madonna crowned by angels and attended by the patrons of Florence, St. Zenobius and the Baptist, St. Bernard and St. Victor, which is now in the Uffizi. A companion for this altar-piece, which was destined for the Chapel of St. Bernard in the Palazzo Pubblico, had been originally given to Leonardo as far back as 1478, but now that he had left Florence the task was assigned to Filippino. The Florentine arms appear in the upper part of the picture, which is remarkable for its clear, luminous colour and for the lovely angel-faces that Filippino loves to repeat. The same transparent hues, the same exquisite boy-angels, appear in the great picture of the Vision of St. Bernard, which he painted in 1480, for Piero del Pugliese's chapel in the convent church of Campora, belonging to the Badia of Florence. During the siege of the city, in 1529, this altar-piece was removed for safety to the Badia, where it is still the ornament of that ancient shrine. Here Filippino has far excelled his father's version of the same subject, and never succeeded in rendering so beautiful an expression as that of St. Bernard as, sitting at his desk, he gazes in love and yearning at the mild Virgin-face which has suddenly dawned upon his prayer. To the same date we may ascribe the Madonna in S. Spirito, with the fine portraits of the donor, Tanai de' Nerli, and his wife, who are presented to her by St. Martin and St. Katherine, and a distant view of the Porta

THE VISION OF ST. BERNARD (BADIA)—FILIPPINO LIPPI.

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S. Frediano, with Tanai alighting from his horse and embracing his little girl.

By this time the fame of Filippino had reached the ears of Matthias Corvinus, the art-loving King of Hungary, who married Beatrice of Aragon, and employed Leonardo to paint pictures, and Benedetto da Majano to make *intarsias*, and the young Florentine artist received an invitation to this monarch's court. This, however, he declined, but agreed to paint two altar-pieces, in one of which he introduced the king's portrait, and which he sent to Hungary when he left Florence for Rome, in September 1488. He had been already strongly recommended by Lorenzo de' Medici to Cardinal Caraffa, who had sent to Florence for a painter to decorate a chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, and who was so much pleased with Filippino when he saw him, that he declared he would not change the artist sent to him by the Magnifico for all the painters of ancient Greece. Before Filippino set out on his journey, he made a will leaving two houses at Prato, which he had inherited from his father, and the property which he owned in Florence, to his mother and sister, and bequeathed the remainder of his estate to the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, on the condition that a liberal provision of corn, wine, oil, salt meat and wood should be given yearly to his "beloved mother, Lucrezia Buti." On his way to Rome, the painter visited his father's burial-place at Spoleto, and, by Lorenzo de' Medici's command, erected a marble monument to Fra Filippo's memory.

The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas — that favourite theme of the Dominican Order which

Giottesque masters had represented 140 years before in the Chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella—was the subject of the frescoes which Filippino painted in the great Dominican church in Rome, for his Neapolitan patron, Cardinal Caraffa. A portion of the work, in which the victory of the Theological Virtues was set forth, has been destroyed by the erection of a monument to Pope Paul IV., but a fresco of the Assumption and an Annunciation, with Cardinal Caraffa kneeling at the feet of the Angelic Doctor, are painted above the altar. On the east we have a lunette with Thomas kneeling before the miraculous Crucifix, bearing the words "*Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma,*" and a large representation of the Saint in glory trampling on a heretic who lies prostrate at his feet. Other false teachers are seen below with confusion on their faces and their heretical books lying in a heap on the ground, while a number of spectators contemplate their discomfiture from a balcony behind. There is considerable skill in the grouping and composition, and the rich Renaissance architecture and classical monuments in the background are cleverly introduced; but we miss the simple dignity and repose of the Brancacci frescoes, and the spontaneous charm of the painter's youthful works. Like all his contemporaries, Filippino was deeply impressed by the wonders of ancient Rome, and filled his sketch-books with drawings of arabesques and ornamental details from antique remains, which were carefully preserved by his son, and which afterwards proved of great service to the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini.

As early as April 1487, Filippo Strozzi, the builder of the famous Strozzi Palace in Florence, had engaged Filippino to decorate his family chapel in Santa Maria Novella, and now he vainly urged the absent master to fulfil his promise. In a letter from Rome, dated May 2, 1489, the painter expresses his warm gratitude to Strozzi for kindness far beyond his deserts, and deeply regrets that he has so far been unable to comply with his request, since he is detained in Rome by the Cardinal, who has proved himself the best of patrons, and for whom he is executing the frescoes in Santa Maria, of which he proceeds to give a full description. Since, however, he intends to be at home again by the feast of San Giovanni, he will then undertake the work for Filippo Strozzi and attend to nothing else until it is finished. But it seems doubtful whether the master returned to Florence at all that year, and the first record we have of his presence there is in January 1491, when he was one of the competitors who supplied designs for the façade of the Duomo. By this time Filippo Strozzi was dead, and it was not until 1500 that the heirs were able to induce Filippino to carry out their father's wishes. Orders from all sides poured in upon the popular master, who found it quite impossible to satisfy all the demands that were made upon him. A fresco representing a sacrifice, which he began in a loggia of Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Poggio a Caiano, and which is still in existence, was left unfinished, probably on account of the Magnifico's death, in 1492. Another commission which he accepted was an order from the monks of the Certosa of Pavia, who applied to him on the recommenda-

tion of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan. Some years earlier, this prince, who already had Leonardo in his service, asked his envoy in Florence to send him the names of the best painters to be found in the city. In reply he received the following note, which is curious, as showing how accurately the position and merits of the three chief Florentine masters at the close of the fifteenth century were judged by their contemporaries :—

"Sandro de Botticello—a most excellent master, both in fresco and tempera. His figures have a manly air, and are admirable in conception and proportion.

Filippino di Frate Filippo—an excellent disciple of the above-named, and a son of the rarest master of our times. His heads have a gentler and sweeter air, but in my opinion less art.

Domenico de Grillandaio—a good master in panels, and a better one in wall-painting. His figures are good, and he is an active and industrious master, who accomplishes a great deal of work."[1]

The result of this communication was that Lodovico Moro advised the monks of Pavia to engage Filippino, who, on 7th March 1495, entered into an agreement to paint a Pietà for the Certosa. But he never executed this commission, and, in 1511, long after the painter was dead and the Duke had been carried into captivity, another Florentine master, Mariotto Albertinelli, undertook the work which he had left undone.

Another important work which Filippino never accomplished was an altar-piece for the Hall of the Great Council, which he agreed to paint in 1498, but never began, and which was afterwards assigned to

[1] Professor Müller Walde, "Jahrbuch der K. P. Kunst," 1897.

Fra Bartolommeo. He did, however, succeed in completing one large altar-piece, the Adoration of the Magi, for which Leonardo had received a commission from the monks of S. Donato, in the year 1481, but which he had never finished. Filippino's picture contains as many as thirty figures, among whom are several portraits of the Medici. In the young king, who is in the act of taking his gift in his hand, while a page removes his crown, we recognise Giovanni di Pier Francesco, who became the third husband of Caterina Sforza, the famous Madonna of Forli, and was the father of the bold Condottiere, *Giovanni delle Bande Nere.* As usual in Filippino's works, the figures are noble and life-like, but the tendency to overload them with ornament becomes more apparent, and there are evident signs of haste in the execution. On the back of the panel we read the inscription: "Filippus me pinxit de Lipio Florentinus ad dì 29, di Marzo, 1496."

The next year, Filippino, who was now forty years of age, married Maddalena dei Monti, by whom he left three sons, the eldest of whom, Francesco, became a goldsmith, and was the gentle youth with whom Benvenuto Cellini formed so fair a friendship. In the same year, 1497, the painter was chosen, together with Cosimo Rosselli, Benozzo Gozzoli and Perugino, to value Alesso Baldovinetti's frescoes in the Trinità, and, in 1498, he was among the artists and architects who met to consult over the restoration of the cupola of the Duomo, which had been struck by lightning. That summer he went back to his native city of Prato, and painted the beautiful fresco which still adorns a tabernacle in the corner of the market-place, close

to the convent of S. Margherita, where his mother, Lucrezia, first met the Carmelite friar. This lovely Madonna with the choir of angel-babies in a golden sky, has all the delicate charm and purity of Filippino's early works, and deserves the praise which Vasari bestows upon its perfection. His later pictures at Bologna and Genoa are inferior both in design and workmanship, and even the fine altar-piece which he painted for the Rucellai Chapel, in S. Pancrazio, suffers from the mannerism which mars so much of his later work, while the colour of the picture has been ruined by a coat of dark varnish. A far truer idea of the painter's style is obtained from a fragment of a fresco representing an Angel with clasped hands, which hangs in the same room of the National Gallery.

Filippino's last cycle of frescoes were the scenes from the lives of St. Philip and St. John the Evangelist, in the Strozzi Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, which he began early in 1500, and only finished in 1502, as we learn from an inscription on the triumphal arch in the Resurrection of Drusiana. These paintings were the master's final and most ambitious effort, to which he brought the knowledge and experience of years, and in which he put forth all his powers. They contain, it must be owned, some very striking scenes. The look of strange surprise on the face of the dead woman, who comes to life again, and the mingled horror and amazement of the men who carry the bier, are finely given. The miracle of St. Philip exorcising the dragon in the temple of Mars, while the king's son falls back dying in his servants' arms, is rendered with dramatic effect. But the ex-

aggerated action of many of the figures, the confusion of streaming draperies and waving scarves, and the endless quantity of bas-reliefs, caryatides, and arabesques with which the walls and pilasters of the temple are loaded, destroy all sense of beauty and repose. Yet these frescoes excited the utmost admiration at the time they were painted, and Vasari cannot contain his delight in the novelty and variety of the objects introduced—"The temples, armour, helmets, vases, trophies and other things, all painted in so admirable a manner that they deserve the highest praise."

In 1503, Filippino—who had already undertaken two commissions which Leonardo had failed to execute—agreed to paint a Deposition for the high altar of the church of the Annunziata, to supply the place of the picture which his great contemporary had begun, but never finished. This altar-piece had in the first place been assigned to Filippino, but when Leonardo came back to Florence, in 1500, he was heard to say, that he would gladly have undertaken the work himself. Upon this, says Vasari, Filippino "like the amiable man that he was," gave up his claim at once, and Leonardo produced the cartoon of the Madonna and St. Anne which excited so much admiration. Since, however, he made no further progress with the picture, and had again left Florence, the friars turned once more to Filippino, who set about the work at once. But there was a fate against the completion of the altar-piece, and only the upper part of Filippino's picture was completed, when he was seized with a violent attack of fever, which carried him off in a few days. Filippino died on the 18th of April,

1504, and was buried two days later in San Michele Bisdomini, amidst tokens of universal grief and respect. "And all the shops in the Via de' Servi were closed," writes Vasari, "when he was borne to his burial, as is only done, for the most part, at the funerals of princes." His unfinished picture was completed after his death, by the Umbrian master Perugino, who added the group of the fainting Virgin and weeping women at the foot of the Cross.

Filippino's best scholar was Raffaellino del Garbo, who accompanied him to Rome as his assistant, and worked both under him and Botticelli. A very unequal artist, Raffaellino never fulfilled the promise of his youth, and after Filippino's death adopted exaggerated gestures and mannerisms which ruined his art. His best pictures are a charming Madonna with Angels playing musical instruments in a flowery meadow, at Berlin, a Resurrection, painted in oils, and closely resembling Filippino's style, which originally hung in the Capponi chapel at Monte Oliveto, and the Pietà, formerly ascribed to Botticelli, at Munich. This last work is so powerful and dramatic in character, and so full of intense feeling, that we can have little doubt the conception is due to Botticelli, and the picture was painted from some design of his later years. Raffaellino died in 1524, at the age of fifty-eight.

CHIEF WORKS—

FILIPPINO:

Florence.—Accademia: 89. St. Mary of Egypt.
93. St. John the Baptist.
98. Deposition.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Florence.—Pitti: 336. Allegory of Youths attacked by Serpents.

,, *Uffizi:* 286. Portrait of Painter.
1167. Old Man.
1257. Adoration of the Magi.
1268. Madonna and Child with four Saints and Angels.

,, *Palazzo Corsini:* 162. Madonna and Child with Angels.

,, *Palazzo Torrigiani:* Bust of Youth.

,, *Badia:* Vision of St. Bernard.

,, *Carmine, Brancacci Chapel:* Frescoes—Raising of the King's Son (partly); SS. Peter and Paul before Nero; Crucifixion of St. Peter; St. Paul visiting St. Peter in Prison; Angels delivering St. Peter.

,, *Santa Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel:* Frescoes —Lives of St. John the Evangelist, and St. Philip.

,, *S. Spirito:* Madonna and Saints.

,, *Poggio a Caiano:* Fragment of Fresco—A Sacrifice.

Bologna.—S. Domenico: Marriage of St. Katherine.

Genoa.—Palazzo Bianco: Madonna and Child with Saints.

Lucca.—S. Michele: SS. Helena, Sebastian, Jerome and Roch.

Naples.—Scuola Toscana: Annunciation.

Prato.—Gallery: 16. Madonna and Child with St. John Baptist and St. Stephen.

,, *Canto sul Mercatale, Tabernacle:* Fresco—Madonna and Child with Cherubs and SS. Margherita, Stephen and Anthony.

Rome.—S. Maria sopra Minerva, Caraffa Chapel: Frescoes —Annunciation, Assumption, Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas; Vision of the Crucifix.

Venice.—Seminario: 15. Christ and the Woman of Samaria.
17. Noli me Tangere.

Berlin.—Gallery: 78*a*. Allegory of Music.
96. Crucifixion.
101. Madonna and Child.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

London.—National Gallery: 293. Madonna and Child, with SS. Jerome and Dominic; 927. Angel.
Mr. Benson: Pietà.
Sir Henry Samuelson: Moses striking the Rock. The Golden Calf.
Mr. Warren: Holy Family.
Oxford.—Christ Church: Centaur.

RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO:

Florence.—Accademia: 90. Resurrection.
Naples.—Scuola Romana: 15. Madonna and Child, with St. John.
Parma.—Gallery: 56. Madonna giving the Girdle to St. Thomas.
Venice.—Lady Layard: Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici.
Berlin.—Gallery: 78 and 81. Portraits.
90. Madonna and Child with two Angels.
London.—Mr. Benson: Madonna and Child with Angels.
Sir Henry Samuelson: Madonna and Saints.
Munich.—Pinacothek: 1009. Pietà.
Dresden.—Gallery: 22. Madonna and Child.

XIX

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO

1449–1494

THE third great master of Lorenzo de' Medici's age, who shared with Botticelli and Filippino in all the most important works of the day, and enjoyed the same high reputation among his fellow-citizens, was Domenico Ghirlandajo. Born in 1449, he was the son of a silk merchant named Tommaso Bigordi, and began life in the shop of a goldsmith who had acquired some reputation as a maker of the gold and silver garlands commonly worn by Florentine women. To this circumstance Domenico and his younger brother David owed the nickname of "*del Ghirlandajo*," in Tuscan dialect, *Grillandajo*, by which they became generally known. Domenico early practised his hand at portrait-painting by taking drawings of the men and women whom he saw in the streets, and he soon left the goldsmith's shop to study painting under Alesso Baldovinetti. Both his natural gifts and early training fitted him for the position which he holds as the chief of the Florentine realists. Essentially prosaic by nature, and lacking alike the artistic feeling of Sandro and the grace of

Filippino, Ghirlandajo was gifted with rare facility of hand and a keen eye for all the small details of domestic life, which he reproduces with Dutch-like accuracy and minuteness. No doubt, like other Tuscan masters, he was familiar with some of the fine examples of Flemish art which had found their way to Florence, and especially with the imposing triptych by Hugo van der Goes, which Tommaso Portinari had brought back from Bruges to adorn his family chapel in S. Maria Nuova. And the natural bent of his mind led him to tread in the steps of these Northern artists and paint every vein and wrinkle in the faces of his personages, and every brooch or jewel in their robes, with the same minute realism. Ghirlandajo's marvellous industry, as Lodovico Sforza's envoy told his master, was another striking feature of his character. His appetite for work was insatiable, and he is said to have declared that he would like to decorate the whole circle of the walls of Florence with frescoes. As it is, the number and variety of paintings which he executed during his comparatively short life is amazing

The earliest work that we have from his hand is probably the fresco of the Madonna della Misericordia, which he painted for the Vespucci on the walls of Ognissanti. After being whitewashed, in 1616, this long-lost picture was lately brought to light, and among other family portraits contains one of a youth who is said to be the famous navigator Amerigo Vespucci. In 1475, Ghirlandajo paid a visit to Rome, and we learn from recently discovered documents that he painted a fresco over the tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni's wife in S. Maria Minerva. and was also

employed with his brother David in the Library of the Vatican. No trace of their work is now in existence, but Ghirlandajo made good use of his spare time and took careful drawings of temples, pyramids, and other classical remains which he afterwards introduced in his works. In 1476, the brothers returned to Florence, and painted a Last Supper in a Vallombrosan monastery at Passignano, the wealthiest religious house in Tuscany. Here the coarse fare which the monks supplied their guests excited the wrath of David to such a pitch that this hot-headed youth rose from table, flung the soup over the brother who had prepared the meal, and seizing a big loaf of bread, struck him so violently, that the poor monk was carried to his cell more dead than alive. The abbot, who had gone to bed, was roused from sleep by the clamour, and hurried to the parlour, thinking the roof had fallen in, only to be greeted with a torrent of abuse from David, who told him that his brother was worth more than all the pigs of abbots who had ever ruled over the Abbey!

Before this visit to Rome, probably in 1474 or early in 1475, Ghirlandajo painted one of his most attractive works, the frescoes of the Chapel of Santa Fina, in the Collegiate Church of San Gimignano. The virgin Saint, who suffered all her life from incurable disease, but brought the people of San Gimignano untold blessings by her prayers and sanctity, is represented lying on her death-bed and consoled by St. Gregory, who appears to her in a vision. All the details of the humble home —the kitchen table with its brass plates, glass jugs and ripe pomegranates, the window looking out

on the rocks and running stream, and the rose-bushes in the garden, are lovingly reproduced, and the aged women who watch by the bedside wear the white caps and laced bodices of the peasants of the district. In the other fresco, Santa Fina lies in the last sleep, and her dead hand is lifted to heal the paralysed arm of the old nurse kneeling at her side, while a little choir-boy kisses her feet and an angel tolls the bell. The scene with all its simple details is full of pathos, and the grave priest who reads the last prayers, and the acolytes whose whole thoughts are occupied with the heavy cross and candles they bear, are closely studied from life. On this occasion Ghirlandajo was assisted by Sebastiano Mainardi, a painter of San Gimignano, who married his sister and executed many of the works ascribed to his more famous brother-in-law, both at San Gimignano and in other places.

Soon after his return to Florence Ghirlandajo married, and is described in an income-tax return of 1480 as living in his father's house, but being without a settled home, and having a wife of nineteen, named Costanza. His next works of importance were the Cenacolo and St. Jerome, which he painted in the convent and church of Ognissanti, in 1480. The aged Saint is represented seated, pen in hand, at his writing-desk, and the variegated pattern of the table-cloth, the candle, hour-glass, inkstand and scissors, and the Cardinal's hat and water-flask on the shelf, are all exactly reproduced. The Last Supper, which the painter afterwards repeated with little variation in the smaller refectory of San Marco, is set in a Tuscan garden where ilex and laurels, orange and pomegranate trees grow up the arches of the loggia,

and blue-headed peacocks and other bright-winged birds perch on the marble balustrade. In both the traditional form of composition is retained, and there is the same absence of dramatic intention and the same careful rendering of the dishes and water-bottles, the cherries and loaves of bread. The painter's interest, we feel, lies wholly in the external aspect of the scene before him. He has no care for the deeper meanings which lie under the surface of life, or the fitful play of human passions and emotions, but is content to reproduce what is passing before his eyes as truthfully and exactly as possible. Unlike Botticelli and Leonardo, he has no type or ideal of his own, but his realism, as Dr. Woltmann has truly said, is kept in check by a certain dignity of style which lifts his larger compositions above the common-place, and gives them an imposing air. With the single exception of a Vulcan which he painted for Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Spedaletto, Ghirlandajo was entirely engaged upon sacred subjects, which in his hands became a frame for the portraits of the chief Florentine men and women of the day. His frescoes thus acquire the value of historic documents, and give us a sober and dignified, if somewhat prosaic, record of the Medicean age. In 1481, he received a commission to paint a fresco in the same hall of the Palazzo Pubblico which Botticelli, Perugino, and Filippino had been engaged to decorate. None of these masters seem to have executed the work assigned to them, and the only fresco of the series in existence is Ghirlandajo's Triumph of St. Zenobius, with a group of Roman warriors above and a view of the Duomo and Baptistery in the background. The

progress of the work, however, was interrupted by the painter's second visit to Rome, and the fresco remained unfinished until 1485, for in October, 1481, Ghirlandajo was summoned with Botticelli and his comrades to take part in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. During the following year he painted a Resurrection over the doorway, which has been destroyed, and the well-known fresco of the Calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew. The influence of Masaccio is apparent in this carefully-arranged and well-balanced composition; the colour is clear and harmonious, and the landscape, with the wooded shores and lake of Gennesareth in the background, lends real beauty to the picture. As usual, a number of contemporary personages who take no part in the scene are introduced among the spectators on either side.

The greater part of the three years after the painter's return to Florence was devoted to the frescoes of the history of St. Francis with which he decorated the Chapel of the Sassetti in the Trinità. These six large compositions are Ghirlandajo's finest and most successful works. They display his consummate knowledge and mastery of the technical side of art, and show some attempt at dramatic action and expression. The artist had evidently studied Giotto's frescoes in Santa Croce with close attention and followed the same lines, especially in the Death of St. Francis. This last subject is rendered with a realism which excited Vasari's warmest admiration. "The careless indifference of the choristers forms a striking contrast to the grief of the weeping friars, and the mitred bishop, chanting the prayers for the dead, with spectacles on his nose, is so life-like that, but for the fact that we

do not hear his voice, no one would believe him to be painted." But in spite of the painter's cleverness, in spite of the marked advance in every branch of art which had been made in the last century, and the rich costumes and splendid architecture with which Ghirlandajo adorns the subject, his picture lacks the supreme qualities of Giotto's work, and we feel how far short he falls of his great forerunner.

The portraits of many of the artist's most illustrious contemporaries are introduced in this series. Lorenzo de' Medici, wearing a red mantle, stands on the left of Pope Honorius, in the second fresco, while Maso degli Albizzi, Palla Strozzi, Angelo Acciaiuoli, and Ghirlandajo himself, in a red cap, with his hand on his hip, all figure in the fifth subject, where St. Francis raises a dead child to life, and the bridge of the Trinità and Palazzo Spini are seen in the background. Many fair maidens and handsome youths of the Sassetti family appear in this picture, and Francesco Sassetti himself, the wealthy banker who, as Lorenzo's agent at Lyons, played a leading part in politics, is represented, together with Madonna Nera, his wife, kneeling on either side of the altar. The altar-piece of the Nativity, a tempera painting, containing an admirable portrait of the artist, who kneels by the shepherds at the manger of Bethlehem, is now in the Accademia, and bears the date of 1485. This is one of Ghirlandajo's best works, and is full of reminiscences of his visit to Rome. Corinthian columns support the penthouse roof, a procession of the Magi passes under a triumphal arch, and a Roman sarcophagus with a Latin inscription takes the place of the manger.

Hardly had the master completed his frescoes of St. Francis, in the Trinità, than he set to work on another great series—the Lives of the Baptist and of the Virgin, in the choir of Santa Maria Novella. The commission to paint the walls originally adorned by Orcagna's ruined frescoes, was given to Ghirlandajo by Giovanni Tornabuoni—the uncle of Lorenzo de' Medici—who agreed to pay the artist the sum of 2,200 gold florins, and to add another 200, if he were satisfied with the result. When, however, at the end of four years the great series was completed, Tornabuoni expressed the utmost admiration for the work, but asked the painter to be content with the sum originally proposed. Ghirlandajo, who seems to have been singularly indifferent to gain, made no objection, but afterwards his patron's conscience reproached him for his want of liberality, and when the painter was ill at Pisa, in 1492, he sent him a gift of 100 florins. These twenty-one subjects have been much injured by damp, and restoration and the hand of inferior assistants is plainly seen in many of the best preserved portions. But as a splendid illustration of Florentine life, the whole series is of rare interest. On the one hand we have the public and official life of the Tornabuoni, their stately banquets and processions; on the other, we catch a glimpse of their private and domestic history. In the guests seated at Herod's feast, in the crowds who throng the temple court, we recognise the Tornabuoni and their kinsmen, the partners of the Medici bank, Gianfrancesco Ridolfi, Roderigo Sassetti and Andrea de' Medici. On one side we have a group of famous humanists—Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio

FLORENTINE LADY.

(S. MARIA NOVELLA)—DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO.

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Ficino, Cristoforo Landino and Lorenzo's tutor, Gentile de' Becchi; on the other, we see the painter, with his aged father, and his brother David, and brother-in-law Sebastiano Mainardi, the assistants who helped in the decoration of the choir. Giovanna degli Albizzi, the fair maiden who, on the 16th of June, 1486, became the bride of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, is here in her stiff brocades and rich jewels, with her young sister-in-law Lodovica and many noble dames, on their way to visit the mother and new-born babe. With her we enter the chamber where the mother lies on her couch, and friends are wishing her joy, while the nurse rocks the baby, and the maids prepare its bath. We see the frieze of singing and dancing children on the wall, the elegant Renaissance columns of the loggia, and we note how, in his anxiety to display his knowledge of perspective and anatomy, the painter has introduced a naked beggar sitting on the floor, and a peasant-woman poising a basket of fruit on her head, while a perfect gale of wind blows out the skirts of the maid who pours out the water for the child's bath.

These frescoes, which were finally completed in 1490, filled the Tornabuoni with delight and wonder, and Ghirlandajo was next employed to paint the chapel of their villa near Fiesole, which was unfortunately destroyed by floods in the next century. Many of the master's finest tempera pictures were painted during the four years when he was at work in Santa Maria Novella. The large Coronation, at Narni, was finished in 1486, and the round Adoration, in the Uffizi, bears the date of 1487. This subject was repeated in the altar-piece of the

Hospital of the Innocents, on a larger scale. Here the Coliseum and pyramid of Cestius are seen in the distance, rising amidst the domes and spires of a populous city, on the banks of a broad river, crowded with ships and barges, and Ghirlandajo's head appears to the left of the graceful Renaissance pilaster, which supports the temple. Four angels, throned on the clouds, sing the *Gloria* from an open scroll, and two little white-robed Innocents, with sword-cuts in their heads, and glories round their brows, are presented to the Virgin by the Baptist and Evangelist. The Visitation, in the Louvre, was ordered by Lorenzo Tornabuoni for his chapel in the church of Cestello, and begun by the master in 1491, but evidently finished by his assistants. In the same year Ghirlandajo was chosen, together with Botticelli, to design mosaics for the Chapel of St. Zenobius in the Duomo, but the work was never executed, owing to the death of Lorenzo de' Medici a few months afterwards. Two years before, our master had designed the mosaic of the Annunciation over one of the Cathedral doors, and took great pleasure in the work, saying that mosaic was painting for eternity. The same indefatigable energy prompted him to undertake tasks of the most varied description. Even the candelabra of the Duomo were sent to his shop to be gilded and decorated, and he told his assistants jestingly that they must never refuse an order, were it only one for the hoops of a peasant-girl's basket.

As might be expected, Ghirlandajo painted many admirable panel-portraits, several of which are still in existence. Among the finest are those of his

patron, the banker, Francesco Sassetti, with his bright-eyed boy at his side, in Mr. Benson's collection, and the beautiful profile of Giovanna Tornabuoni, with the fair hair and red coral beads, which he painted in 1488. This bust, one of the finest Italian portraits in existence, was formerly the property of Mr. Henry Willett, who lent it to the National Gallery, but has lately passed into the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. During the last year of his life, Ghirlandajo painted many altar-pieces for churches at Lucca and Pisa, and for the Camaldolese abbey of S. Giusto, which had been granted to Lorenzo de' Medici's son, the young Cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Pope Leo X. In 1492, he began a large picture of Christ in Glory, for a convent at Volterra, but never lived to finish it; for in the prime of life, and in the full tide of his renown, he was suddenly struck down by mortal disease, and died of the plague in January 1494. The sad event is recorded in the following entry, which may be found in the archives of the Confraternity of St. Paul:—

"Domenico de Churrado Bighordi, painter, called del Grillandaio, died on Saturday morning, on the 11th day of January, 1493 (o.s.), of a pestilential fever, and the overseers allowed no one to see the dead man, and would not have him buried by day. So he was buried—in Santa Maria Novella—on Saturday night after sunset, and may God forgive him! This was a very great loss, for he was highly esteemed for his many qualities, and is universally lamented."

Ghirlandajo was not yet forty-five at the time of his death, and had been twice married. His first wife,

Costanza, died in 1485, and in the following year he married a widow of San Gimignano, Antonia di Ser Paolo. He left a family of nine children, the eldest of whom, Ridolfo, born in 1483, became a painter of some repute, and was the intimate friend of Raphael. Several of Domenico's scholars, especially his brother-in-law Mainardi, and Francesco Granacci, were excellent artists who did good work in Florence and the neighbourhood, but they were all surpassed by another student who received his early training in this busy workshop, and it is the glory of Ghirlandajo to have been the first to recognise the genius of the youthful Michelangelo.

CHIEF WORKS:—

Florence.—Accademia: 66. Madonna and Child with Saints.
195. Adoration of the Shepherds.
" *Uffizi:* 1295. Adoration of the Magi (*tondo*).
1297. Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels.
" *Palazzo Vecchio:* Frescoes—Triumph of St. Zenobius, Roman Warriors.
" *San Marco, Small Refectory:* Fresco — Last Supper.
" *Spedale degli Innocenti:* Adoration of the Magi.
" *S. Maria Novella: Choir:* Frescoes—Lives of the Virgin and of the Baptist.
" *Ognissanti:* Frescoes—S. Augustine, Madonna della Misericordia. Pietà.
" *Refectory:* Last Supper.
" *S. Trinità:* Frescoes—Life of St. Francis, Sibyl.

San Gimignano.—Collegiata.—Chapel of S. Fina: Frescoes —Death and Funeral of the Saint.

Lucca.—Duomo: Sacristy: Madonna and Child with Saints.

Narni.—Municipio: Coronation of the Virgin.

Pisa.—Gallery: Sala VI.: 21. SS. Sebastian and Roch.
" *St. Anna:* Madonna and Child with Saints.

Rimini.—Gallery: Three Saints and God the Father.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Rome.—*Vatican: Sistine Chapel:* Fresco—The Calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew. Portraits of Popes.

London.—*National Gallery:* 1299. Portrait of Youth.

,, *Mr. Robert Benson:* Francesco Sassetti and his Son.

,, *Mr. Mond:* Madonna and Child.

,, *Mr. Salting:* Madonna and Child with St. John. Portrait of Costanza de' Medici.

Paris.—*Louvre:* 1321. Visitation (partly).

1322. Portraits of Old Man and Boy.

New York.—*Mr. Pierpont Morgan:* 1488. Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni.

N.B.—The triptych by Hugo van der Goes, and the other pictures in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, have been lately removed to the Uffizi Gallery.

XX

LEONARDO DA VINCI

1452–1519

"THE richest gifts of heaven are sometimes showered upon the same person, and beauty, grace and genius are combined in so rare a manner in one man, that to whatever he may apply himself, his every action is so divine, that all others are left behind him." With these words Vasari begins his life of Leonardo da Vinci, one of the most gifted mortals whom the world has ever seen. The personal beauty and heroic strength, the brilliant conversation and fascinating presence that charmed all hearts, were only the outward signs of a marvellously subtle and refined intellect, and of a mental energy that has been seldom equalled. Never before or since, in the annals of the human race, has the same passionate desire for knowledge been united with the same ardent love of beauty, never have artistic and scientific powers been combined in the same degree as in this wonderful man. There was hardly a branch of human learning which he did not seek to explore. Architecture, sculpture, mathematics, geology, hydraulics and physiology, all in turn

absorbed his attention. He filled volumes of manuscript with his observations on artistic and scientific subjects, modelled statues and designed buildings, planned canals, and discovered the use of steam as a motive force. Humboldt pronounced him to be the greatest physicist of his age, and scholars of our own day have recognised in him a man who was not only an excellent artist and a veritable Archimedes, but a great philosopher—a "thinker who anticipated the discoveries of modern science, and a master of literary style who knew how to express lofty thoughts in noble and eloquent language."

Painting, as we know, was only one of the varied forms in which his activity was displayed, and occupied a comparatively small part of his time and thoughts. But he exerted the most extraordinary influence upon contemporary artists, and was the true founder of the Italian school of oil-painting. And profoundly interested as he was in other studies, he always considered painting to be the work of his life, and wrote his celebrated Treatise with the express object of maintaining the supremacy of Painting over all other arts. Unfortunately, little of his art is left us. All contemporary writers agree in saying how few pictures he ever completed. Not only was he distracted by a multitude of other occupations, but he was never satisfied with his efforts, and spent infinite time and pains in trying to realise his idea. "When he sat down to paint," writes Lomazzo, "he seemed overcome with fear. And he could finish nothing that he began, because his soul was so filled with

the sublime greatness of art, that he only saw faults in works which others hailed as marvellous creations." As he says himself in a celebrated passage of his "Treatise on Painting":

"When a work satisfies a man's judgment, it is a bad sign, and when a work surpasses his expectation, and he wonders that he has achieved so much, it is worse. But when an artist's aim goes beyond his work, that is a good sign, and if the man is young, he will no doubt become a great artist. He will compose but few works, but they will be such that men will gaze in wonder at their perfection."

We may regret that Leonardo painted so few pictures, and we may deplore still more the singular fatality which has destroyed his greatest creations, the ruin which overtook the Sforza monument and the misfortunes which have left the Last Supper a mere wreck. But we must remember, on the other hand, the perfection of the works of art which he has left behind him, and which, few as they are in number, have for ever raised the standard of human attainment.

Leonardo the Florentine, as he commonly called himself, was born in 1452, at Vinci, a fortified *borgo* on the western slopes of Monte Albano, half-way between Pisa and Florence. He was the natural son of Ser Piero, a young notary of the place, and of a girl of good family named Caterina, who, after giving birth to this son, married a peasant of Vinci. Piero also married in the same year, and had four wives and a family of twelve children. He was a man of remarkable vigour and energy, who held important offices in Florence, and had a house

on the Piazza San Firenze. Here Leonardo lived until he was twenty-four years of age, and had served his apprenticeship in Andrea Verrocchio's workshop. There he grew up in close companionship with Perugino as Giovanni Santi sang in his poem—"*Due giovin par d'étate e par d'amore*," and made himself beloved by all. "The radiance of his countenance," says Vasari, "rejoiced the saddest heart. Even dumb animals felt the fascination of the man. He could tame the most fiery horses, and would never allow any living creature to be ill-treated. Often, we are told, he bought the singing-birds that were sold in the streets, in order that he might open the doors of their cages and set them free with his own hands. Music and mathematics divided his time with painting and sculpture. He modelled terra-cotta heads of smiling women, and, in his eager search after beauty, followed the lovely faces he saw up and down the streets of Florence. Even at this early age, Vasari tells us, he began many works and then abandoned them. The earliest drawings we have from his hand are a mountainous landscape in the Apennines, bearing the date of 1473, and a lovely sketch of a youthful Virgin, which may be one of the Madonnas to which Leonardo alludes in a note of October 1478: "I began two Virgin Maries." This last was evidently a study for the charming little Annunciation, in the Louvre, with the terraced garden and cypresses, that recall Verrocchio's rendering of the same subject in the Uffizi.

In 1472, Leonardo's name was inscribed on the roll of the Painters' Guild, and soon afterwards he was

given a pension by Lorenzo de' Medici and invited to study the Magnifico's collection of antiques in the garden of San Marco. Through the same influential patron he obtained a commission, in 1478, to paint an altar-piece for a chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico, and, in 1481, signed a contract by which he promised to complete another, for the monks of San Donato, in the space of two and a half years. Neither of these works were ever completed, but the cartoon of the Adoration of the Magi, in the Uffizi, was probably a design for one of the two. This sketch is painted in bistre, or brown monochrome, and a number of preparatory studies, in the Uffizi and other collections, show the infinite amount of time and thought which the artist bestowed upon the subject. The conception is strikingly original. The Virgin is seated in the open air, with tall trees and a spreading palm behind her, and a ruined colonnade and broad flight of stairs rising in front of a rocky landscape. The kings, no longer clad in contemporary costume, but wearing flowing togas, press forward with eager devotion on their faces, and Mary presents her Child to them with a smile of deep inward bliss on her gentle face. The love of horses, which distinguished Leonardo, and which afterwards led him to write a whole treatise on the structure and anatomy of the horse, is already apparent. A number of these animals, in every variety of attitude, standing, lying down, rearing and galloping, are introduced, and a skirmish of cavalry is seen in the background. The whole scene is full of life and animation, and the character and variety of the heads bear witness to the aim "of expressing the movements of the soul through the gestures

of the body," which from the first he set before him.

An unfinished study of a penitent St. Jerome, kneeling in prayer before the crucifix, with his lion at his side, and the view of Santa Maria Novella in the background, now in the Vatican, is the only other work of Leonardo's Florentine period that is left us. The early works which Vasari describes, the Rotella and Medusa, in which he indulged his taste for fantastic horrors, and the Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, with each flower and leaf carefully studied, have all vanished.

In July, 1481, Leonardo was living in his own house in Florence and received certain sums of money in advance from the monks of San Donato, as well as a load of wood and one *lira* six *soldi* for painting their clock. After that his name disappears from contemporary records until 1487, when we find him living at the court of Milan, in the service of Lodovico Sforza, Regent, and afterwards Duke, of Milan. The silence of documents has given rise to all manner of strange theories regarding Leonardo's career of six years, and Dr. Richter ventured on the bold conjecture that during these five or six years the painter travelled in Syria, became engineer to the Sultan of Cairo, and even embraced the Mahometan religion. The chief argument in support of this theory is a letter that may be found among Leonardo's MSS., in which the writer describes an earthquake which took place at Aleppo in 1483, and illustrates his account with maps of Armenia. But these notes, it is plain, are borrowed from the record of some

contemporary traveller, which Leonardo, who was fond of collecting topographical facts upon all parts of the world, in this as in many other cases, has copied for his own amusement. The absence of drawings of Oriental scenes in the artist's note-books, and of any allusion to these travels in the writings of his contemporaries, may be taken as still more destructive of this theory.

The *Anonimo* who wrote Leonardo's life early in the sixteenth century tells us, that when the painter was thirty years old, he was sent by Lorenzo de' Medici, with the musician Atalante Migliorotti, to bear a silver lute to Lodovico Sforza at Milan. This would fix the date of Leonardo's arrival in 1482, or early in 1483, and agrees with the statement of a contemporary, Sabbà da Castiglione, who says that Leonardo spent sixteen years of his life in modelling the great equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, which was destroyed after he left Milan in 1499. This equestrian statue was, in all probability, the cause of his journey to Milan. From the moment of his accession to power, in 1480, Lodovico Sforza had determined to raise a colossal statue in honour of his father, the great condottiere who became Duke of Milan, and, as was his habit, asked his friend Lorenzo de' Medici for a sculptor who could execute the work. It was then, doubtless, that Leonardo wrote the famous letter offering Lodovico Sforza his services. After dwelling at length on his capacities as military engineer, and his ability to construct cannons and scaling-ladders, mortars and engines of useful and beautiful shape, he concludes with the following proud words:—

"In time of peace, I believe I can equal any one in architecture, in constructing public and private buildings, and in conducting water from one place to another. I can execute sculpture, whether in marble, bronze, or terra-cotta, and in painting I can do as much as any other man, be he who he may. Further, I could engage to execute the bronze horse in eternal memory of your father and the illustrious house of Sforza. And if any of the above-mentioned things should appear to you impossible or impracticable, I am ready to make trial of them in your park, or in any other place that may please your Excellency, to whom I commend myself in profound humility."

According to Vasari, it was Leonardo's brilliant conversation and skill in playing the lute which first captivated Lodovico Sforza, but whether there be any truth in the statement or not, it is certain that the Moro quickly recognised the Florentine master's genius, and determined to keep him in his service. From him Leonardo received a salary of 2000 ducats (£4000), besides frequent gifts and rewards, and during the sixteen years that he spent at the Court of Milan, he found in Lodovico a genial patron and a generous and kindly friend. Many and varied were the demands on Leonardo's skill and invention during this period. Whether in the capacity of architect or engineer, sculptor or painter, his services were in constant request. There was, first of all, the equestrian statue, for which he made at least two models and an endless number of different designs. Unfortunately he could not satisfy himself, and at last even Lodovico began to lose patience and to wonder if the work would ever be completed. On the 23rd of April 1490, Leonardo made the following entry in his note-book:

"To-day I began this new book and a new model of the horse." Three years and a half later, this model was sufficiently advanced to be placed under a triumphal arch on the Piazza in front of the Castello of Milan, on the occasion of Bianca Sforza's wedding to the Emperor Maximilian. Poets and chroniclers hailed the monument as one of the wonders of the age, and compared Leonardo to Phidias and Pericles. But the wars in which the Duke of Milan became engaged, and his financial difficulties, put an end to his most cherished schemes, and the statue was never cast in bronze.

In 1487, Leonardo made a model for the cupola of the Duomo of Milan, and three years later received payment for another which he never finished. In 1490, he went to Pavia, to give his opinion on the new Cathedral of that city, but was hastily recalled to superintend the decorations of the Castello of Milan, in honour of Lodovico's marriage. During many years he was employed in painting the *camerini* of this palace, which, under the Moro's rule, became one of the finest in Italy, and plans for pavilions in the ducal gardens and ingenious contrivances for heating the Duchess's baths are preserved among his manuscripts. His help, again, was often required in the masquerades and Carnival festivities that were held on so vast a scale at the Court of Milan. On one occasion he constructed the mechanism of an *operetta* called "Il Paradiso," in which the planets and stars sang the praise of the newly-wedded Duchess; on another he designed the costumes for a grand Tournament in which the Duke's son-in-law appeared at the head of a horde of Scythians. On one page of his note-

book we find the sketch of a flying bird to be introduced in some comedy ; on another we read a suggestion for bringing snow from the mountains in summer, and scattering it on the Piazza at festivals. In later years he was appointed ducal engineer, and careful notes on the canals of Lombardy and fortifications of the Castello are to be found among his works. Certain mysterious circular engravings, designed by his hand and bearing the inscription, *Accademia Leonardi Vinci*, have been taken as evidence that the great master founded an Academy of Arts and Sciences at Milan ; but the term was probably applied to those informal gatherings of scholars and artists which were held in the Castello, in the Duke's presence, and which Leonardo's friend, the mathematician Luca Pacioli, describes as "laudable and scientific duels." The great lasting influence which he exerted on the school of Milan is well-known, and it was at Lodovico Sforza's especial request that the artist wrote his famous Treatise on Painting.

These varied occupations left Leonardo little time for painting. Yet, during these busy years at the most brilliant court of Italy, he executed some of his most important works. The pictures which he painted for the Emperor Maximilian and the King of Hungary, and the portraits of the Moro's mistresses, Cecilia Gallerani and Lucrezia Crivelli, have perished, but one great altar-piece of this period is still in existence. This is the "Vierge aux Rochers," which the master painted about 1490, for the Church of S. Francesco of Milan, but which he asked the Duke's leave to keep, since the friars refused to pay him more than twenty-five florins, while another patron

had offered him a hundred for his work. Accordingly, the picture became the property of some private owner, from whose hands it passed into the collection of Francis I. at Fontainebleau, and is now among the greatest treasures of the Louvre. In spite of its blackened colour and repainted condition, the "Vierge aux Rochers" is a masterpiece of profound originality and infinite charm. The old trammels of tradition have been cast away, and the Virgin appears no longer crowned and throned, attended by saints or kneeling in adoration before her Son, but simply as a human mother, watching her child with all a mother's tender delight. The Child, sitting on the grass, blesses the little St. John, whom the Virgin caresses with her hand; a red-robed angel, with uplifted finger, kneeling at his side, completes the lovely group. In the oval types and rippling hair of both the Virgin and angel, the innocent grace of the curly-headed children and the soft blue of Mary's mantle, we see the exquisite refinement of Leonardo's fancy. Still more remarkable is the execution of the picture. The ease and freedom with which the figures are modelled, the subtle harmonies of line and delicately-blended tints, the wonderful play of light and shade in the deep hollows and splintered shafts of the rocky background, all reveal the presence of a new power in art.

The replica of this famous picture in the National Gallery is probably the work of the Milanese artist Ambrogio de Predis, who had already painted the angels on the wings of the altar-piece, and remained in the Franciscan church until 1796, when Gavin Hamilton bought it for thirty ducats. The small-

ness of the sum is the best proof that the picture was not held to be a genuine Leonardo, since the great master's works were held in the highest estimation at Milan, and Charles I. had vainly offered 300 ducats for any one of his manuscripts in that city. A series of original studies for the children-heads and the angel with the outstretched finger, are still to be seen at Windsor and Paris, and bear witness to the genuineness of the Louvre painting, while the slight improvements in the composition of the National Gallery picture seem to indicate that it was a later work, probably executed under Leonardo's own eye.

But if England cannot claim to possess an oil-painting by the hand of this rare master, we have a priceless treasure in the cartoon of the Virgin and St. Anne, which is the property of the Royal Academy. In this drawing, which Leonardo probably designed towards the close of his Milanese period, we have the first idea of the picture which he afterwards painted for Francis I. It is drawn in black chalk on white paper, and both the hands and feet of St. Anne and the stones in the foreground are quite unfinished, but the modelling of the forms and the expression of the heads display the full perfection of the master's art. The Child in his Mother's arms springs joyously forward to reach St. John, and St. Anne, on whose lap the Virgin rests, turns to her daughter with a glad smile and points upwards, as if to show that she is aware of her son's divine birth. But the charm of the picture lies in the face of Mary, with the strange, wonderful smile that tells of a joy beyond mortal dream. Nowhere else has Leonardo succeeded in

drawing a face so absolutely free from all suspicion of earthly guile, so pure and tender in its perfect loveliness. For once even the master himself must have been satisfied.

The history of this famous cartoon still remains doubtful. But we know that it was reproduced by Luini in an oil-painting, now in the Ambrosiana, and that, in 1585, it was still the property of his son Aurelio. In 1720, it was sold by the Arconati family and removed to Venice, where it was bought by the English Consul, John Udny, and taken to England about 1760. On the 22nd March, 1791, the following minute appears on the roll of the Council of the Royal Academy signed by the President, Sir Joshua Reynolds:—

"The cartoon, by Leonardo da Vinci, in the Royal Academy, being in a perishable state, having been neglected many years: Resolved—That it have all the possible repairs and be secured in a frame and glasses, which the Secretary is requested to take charge of."

The head of the Virgin from this cartoon which now hangs in the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House forms our frontispiece, and is here reproduced by the special permission of the President and Council of the Royal Academy.

But the most famous work which Leonardo executed for Lodovico Sforza was the Last Supper, in the refectory of the Dominican friars of S. Maria delle Grazia a convent which the Duke had taken under his especial protection. When the painter received the order, he felt that the opportunity of his life had come, and threw himself with passionate ardour into this work

in which all the resources of his art and all the experience of ripened years are gathered up. Very few of his preliminary studies, however, remain. The red chalk drawing in the Accademia at Venice, with the names of the different apostles, is one of the earliest, and some single heads in the library at Windsor are of great beauty, while some curious descriptive notes indicating the attitude of each apostle, in Leonardo's own handwriting, are preserved at South Kensington Museum.

"One, in the act of drinking, puts down his glass and turns his head to the speaker. Another, twisting his fingers together, turns to his companion, knitting his eyebrows. Another, opening his hands and turning the palm towards the spectator, shrugs his shoulders, his mouth expressing the liveliest surprise. Another whispers in the ear of a companion, who turns to listen, holding in one hand a knife, and in the other a loaf, which he has cut in two. Another, turning round with a knife in his hand, upsets a glass upon the table and looks; another gasps in amazement; another leans forward to look at the speaker, shading his eyes with his hand; another, drawing back behind the one who leans forward, looks into the space between the wall and the stooping disciple."

This first realistic conception, which curiously recalls Andrea del Castagno's fresco in Sant' Apollonia of Florence, was gradually transformed by the fine action of Leonardo's imagination into the noble and harmonious scene that is familiar to us all. There is consummate art in the grouping and gestures of the figures, in the simple tunics and mantles of the apostles, and the plain fittings of the upper chamber, with its timbered roof and

three windows, looking out on the distant hills. Leonardo began the work early in 1495, but, after his wont, lingered over it till both the Prior and the Duke's patience were well-nigh exhausted. Matteo Bandello, the novelist, who was a novice in the convent at the time, has described how he often saw the master mount the scaffolding and remain there, brush in hand, from sunrise to sunset, forgetting to eat and drink. Sometimes he would stand before the fresco for an hour or two, lost in contemplation, and would not take up his brush for three or four days. At other times he would leave the Castello, where he was modelling his equestrian statue, and hurry through the streets, in the blazing noontide sun, to the convent outside the city gates, add a touch or two to the fresco, and then return as quickly as he came. But he was always courteous to visitors, and liked to hear them express their opinions freely on his work. When Cardinal de Gurck paid a visit to Milan, early in 1497, and was lodged in the convent, he came to see the painter, and praised his fresco highly; but six months later it was still unfinished, and Lodovico sent the Marchesino Stanga to urge him to complete the work without delay.

The Prior, Vasari tells us, could not understand why the painter should stand before his picture for half the day without making any visible progress, and appealed to the Duke, who sent for Leonardo and discussed the subject with him. The master explained that he was really producing most when he seemed to be idle, and added that he had still two heads to paint, that of Christ, which he could

hardly hope to realise on earth, and that of Judas, for which he was still seeking a model, but would, if it pleased the Duke, make use of the Prior's own head, a joke over which both prince and painter laughed heartily. By the end of the year, however, the work was finished, and Luca Pacioli, in dedicating his book to the Duke, alludes to his friend Leonardo as the "sculptor of the admirable and stupendous equestrian statue, and the painter of the noble and beautiful symbol of the ardent Desire of our Salvation in the temple of le Gratie." Unfortunately, instead of working in fresco—a process which did not admit of the continual retouchings prompted by his fastidious taste—Leonardo painted in oils on a dry stucco ground, which soon crumbled away, and in Vasari's time the great picture was already a wreck. We need not dwell on the melancholy tale of subsequent mutilations and restorations which it has undergone. Enough that Leonardo's soul still dwells in this ruined masterpiece, and that even now it has a power and a charm which no copies can ever give. There is a vigour and sincerity in the heads, a sense of common action and thrill of sympathy running through the group, above all, a depth of tenderness and intensity of feeling in the expression of the faces, which no reproductions give, and which belong to the original alone.

After finishing the Last Supper, Leonardo painted Lodovico's own portrait and that of his young wife, the lamented Duchess Beatrice—who had died early in the year, and was buried in the church close by—kneeling with their little sons at the foot of the

Milanese artist Mortorfano's fresco of the Crucifixion, on the opposite wall. Since, however, he insisted on painting them in oils, these noble figures—which contemporaries describe as living images of both Duke and Duchess—have almost disappeared. But already Lodovico's enemies were closing about him, and he found himself in sore need of men and money.

In April, 1499, Leonardo, who up till this time had found him so generous a patron, wrote to remind him that his salary was two years in arrear, and in reply received a grant of a vineyard outside the Porta Vercellina, with a letter acknowledging his services in the warmest terms, and calling him the most famous of living painters. When, a few months later, the French entered Milan, and Lodovico fled to Innsbruck, Leonardo sent 600 florins which he had saved to the bank of S. Maria Nuova in Florence, and went to Venice. On his journey he stopped at Mantua, and paid a visit to the accomplished Marchesa Isabella, sister to Duchess Beatrice, whom he had often met at the court of Milan, and whose portrait he drew in charcoal. By the end of March he was back in Florence. There he heard the news of Lodovico's final defeat and betrayal to the French, and of the terrible ruin which had overwhelmed his State and friends. The fair palace which he had helped to decorate was pillaged by French soldiery, and the model of his equestrian statue became a target for Gascon archers. A few broken sentences in one of Leonardo's note-books record the grief which he felt that day. Bramante's buildings were left unfinished, the architect Jacopo da Ferrara, a friend dear to him as a brother, had been hung by

the French as a traitor, all his old companions were in prison or exile, and his noble patron Lodovico was a captive in a foreign land. "The Duke," he wrote, "has lost his realm, his fortune and his liberty. Not one of his great undertakings has been completed."

The next sixteen years of Leonardo's life were spent in constant journeyings up and down Italy. During fifteen months he remained in Florence, first in the house of his friend, the sculptor Rustici, and afterwards with the Servi brothers, who commissioned him to paint an altar-piece for their church. After many delays, he at length produced a cartoon of the Madonna and St. Anne, which not only filled all artists with admiration, but brought crowds of men and women, old and young, to the hall in the convent where it was exhibited during two days. "The whole city was stirred," writes Vasari, "and you might have thought it was a procession on some solemn feast day." The Carmelite preacher, Fra Pietro da Nuvolaria, writing to Isabella d'Este, in April, 1501, describes this cartoon, which made all Florence wonder, in the following words:—

"The composition is an Infant Christ, hardly a year old, escaping from his Mother's arms to catch hold of a lamb and embrace it. The Virgin, rising almost out of the lap of St. Anne, tries to part the babe from the lamb, and St. Anne seems about to make some movement to hold her back. The figures are life-size, and yet the composition is a small one, because all of them are either seated or bending down."

This sketch, in which we recognise the design for

the oil-painting afterwards executed for Francis I., was the only cartoon which Leonardo had drawn since he had been in Florence.

"The fact is," adds the Carmelite, "he has grown tired of painting, and spends all his time on geometry. Two of his pupils are painting portraits, which he touches up from time to time. But he seems to be living without thought of the morrow."

In vain the Marchesa reminded Leonardo that he had promised to paint her portrait in oils, and begged for some little sacred subject for her studio. "You might at least," she wrote to Fra Pietro, "persuade him to paint us a little Madonna, as sweet and holy as his nature would lead him to conceive." But her entreaties met with no response. The friars waited in vain for their altar-piece, and Isabella's Madonna was never painted.

In the summer of 1502, Leonardo entered the service of Cæsar Borgia as military engineer, and travelled through Romagna — "the realm of all stupidity," as he called this province — visiting Urbino, Rimini, Cesena, and Forli, inspecting fortresses, drawing plans, and noting down any curiosities which he saw on his journey. Early in the following year he returned to Florence, and became once more absorbed in the study of mathematics. In July, he paid a visit to the camp before Pisa, and prepared elaborate plans for the construction of a canal between that city and Florence. And in January, 1504, he was present at the meeting of the artists who chose a site for Michelangelo's David. In the April following,

both he and Michelangelo received a commission to prepare plans for the decoration of the Council Hall in the Palazzo Pubblico. The subject assigned to Leonardo was the battle between the Florentines and Milanese at Anghiari, in 1440, and the Signory agreed to pay him fifteen florins a month, on condition that his cartoon was finished by the following February. During the next ten months Leonardo worked with unceasing ardour at his new task. The subject appealed to him in an especial manner, and the sense of rivalry with the young and famous artist Michelangelo impelled him to put forth all his powers. His account-books at this time bear witness to the simplicity of his habits and frugality of his daily life After the splendour and luxury of the Milanese court, we find him living in rooms near the Pope's hall at Santa Maria Novella, doing his own housekeeping, and sending out his favourite pupil Salaï with a florin to buy provisions for the day. After paying the shoemaker and barber, and laying in a store of bread wine, grapes, and mushrooms, Salaï brought back three *soldi*. This was on a Friday; on other days the bill of fare included meat, eggs, salad, butter and melons. The hire of horses and purchase of cooking utensils and dishes are included in these modest expenses, which only amount to a few florins a week. But with his usual generosity we find Leonardo giving Salaï three florins for a pair of rose-coloured stockings, and green velvet and silver cloth to make a new mantle, and advancing a considerable sum for his sister's dowry. Of wealth and pleasure, of honours and rewards, the master was singularly independent. "O poverty of man!" he exclaims in

one passage, "of how many things do you become the slave for the sake of money!" All he asked was freedom from care, and a quiet home in which he could work and study at leisure. "I am never weary when I am useful," is one of his favourite mottoes. "In serving others I cannot do enough."

By February, 1505, Leonardo's cartoon was completed, and he began to paint the central group of horsemen fighting round the standard on the wall of the Council Hall. Unfortunately, he determined to try a stucco ground, such as Pliny describes to have been employed by Roman artists, and, after wasting endless time and labour on the experiment, found that the substance was too soft and would not hold the colour. This disastrous result filled him with vexation, and before long he abandoned the work in despair. His failure was the more lamentable because of the unanimous testimony which contemporaries bear to the heroic beauty of the warriors and horses in the unfinished painting, which for some years adorned the Council Hall. Leonardo's cartoon remained in the Pope's hall, while that of Michelangelo was hung in the Medici Palace, where Benvenuto Cellini saw them, in 1559, and describes them as the school of the whole world. But these vanished in the course of the next century, and to-day nothing remains to us of Leonardo's masterpiece excepting a few scattered studies and Raphael's copy of the central group, in the University Galleries at Oxford. It is only when we turn to the painter's vivid and dramatic picture of a battle, in the "Trattato," and read the eloquent words in which he paints the confused

mêlée of dead and dying, of stamping and rearing horses, and the different expressions on the faces of victors and vanquished, that we realise all that we have lost in Leonardo's Battle of the Standard.

A better fate has attended the portrait of Mona Lisa, the fair Neapolitan wife of the Florentine Prior, Francesco del Giocondo, which he painted about this time. After working at the picture for more than four years, Leonardo took it with him to France, where it was bought by Francis I. for 4000 gold crowns. A document of the last century, which M. Durand Gréville has lately brought to light, confirms the truth of Vasari's well-known description, and proves that before varnish and repainting destroyed the surface of the picture, the sky was of a delicate blue, the lady's complexion of dazzling fairness, and her eyes of liquid and brilliant lustre.

"The smallest details are rendered with exceeding care, the eyes have all the liquid sparkle of nature, the lashes fringing the lids are painted with rare delicacy, the curve of the eyebrows, the vermilion of the lips, are all exactly reproduced. This is not painting, it is real flesh. You can see the pulse beating in the throat, the enchanting smile is more divine than life itself."

The crimson of the lips has faded and the lustre of the eyes is dim, but that wonderful face with the haunting smile, and the everlasting rocks behind, has not yet lost its charm. For us, in her mystic beauty, Mona Lisa remains the symbol of the divine Idea which Leonardo was ever seeking, the secret which lies hidden at the heart of Nature.

Early in 1506, the painter went to Milan, at the invitation of the French king, Louis XII., who had frequently tried to secure his services, and was once more employed on engineering works in Lombardy. The disgust which he felt at the failure of his last great enterprise was increased by a vexatious law-suit with his half-brothers, over his late father's inheritance, and he was glad to escape from these cares and anxieties and find a new sphere of action. But the Gonfaloniere of Florence, Piero Soderini, refused to prolong his leave of absence, and complained that Leonardo had not treated the Republic well, and had never finished the work committed to him. "He has, in fact, acted like a traitor." The painter, to do him justice, offered to return the money which had been paid him for his cartoon in the Palazzo Pubblico, but Soderini refused his offer, and eventually granted the French king's earnest entreaty and allowed Leonardo to remain at Milan. Before long, a fresh revolution in that city sent him back to Florence, and, in 1513, he accompanied Giuliano de' Medici to Rome, to attend the coronation of his brother, Pope Leo X. The new pontiff welcomed Leonardo warmly, and gave him rooms in the Vatican, where Michelangelo and Raphael were both employed, and where his old friend Bramante was architect of the new basilica of St. Peter. But instead of painting pictures for the Pope, the wayward master spent his time in vain attempts to realise his old dream of a flying machine, and in composing a dissertation on the papal coinage. "Alas!" exclaimed Pope Leo, when he found Leonardo distilling herbs to make a new

varnish, "this man will effect nothing, for he thinks about finishing his picture before he begins it." One small Madonna with a Child of enchanting grace, Vasari tells us, which he painted for the papal official Baldassarre Turini, has disappeared, while the fresco in the church S. Onofrio, formerly ascribed to him, is now recognised to be the work of his pupil Beltraffio. The departure of Giuliano de' Medici decided him to leave Rome, and when, in the summer of 1515, Francis I. entered Italy, Leonardo hastened to meet him at Pavia. The new king received him with the greatest honour, and gave him a pension of 700 crowns. "King Francis," writes Cellini, "was passionately enamoured of the great master's talents, and told me himself that there had never been any man who knew as much as Leonardo." The painter not only accompanied his royal patron to Milan, but followed him to France, and settled in the Hôtel de Cloux, a manor-house near the king's favourite château of Amboise. Salaï refused to leave Milan, but another of his favourite pupils, Francesco Melzi, accompanied Leonardo to France, and watched tenderly over his declining years. His health was beginning to fail, but his brain was as active as ever. He prepared plans for a new palace at Amboise, and for a canal which should connect Touraine with the Lyonnais. A painting of Leda, which was long preserved at Fontainebleau, and another of Pomona, which was also finished in France, have both perished; but one picture of this period remains, the blue-robed Madonna and Child in the lap of St. Anne, with the lamb, now in the Louvre. This charming group,

which owes its existence to Leonardo's invention, and is at least partly executed by his hand, is mentioned by Antonio de Beatis, secretary to the Cardinal of Aragon, in the following account of a visit to Cloux :—

"On the 10th of October, 1516, we went from Tours to Amboise. In one town we accompanied the Cardinal on a visit to Messer Leonardo Vinci, the Florentine, an old man over seventy years of age, and the most excellent painter of our age. He shewed His Excellency three pictures; one was a portrait of a Florentine lady, taken from life at the request of the late Magnifico Giuliano de' Medici; the other was a young St. John the Baptist, and the third a Madonna and Child sitting in the lap of St. Anne, all most perfectly painted, although no more good work can be expected from him now, as his right hand is paralysed. But he has a Milanese pupil who works very well, and although the said Messer Leonardo can no longer paint with his old suavity and charm, he can still make drawings and teach others. This gentleman has written a treatise on anatomy, with especial regard to painting, and has described the limbs, muscles, nerves, veins, and all that belongs to the bodies of men and women, better than any one else before him has done. We have seen the work with our own eyes, and he told us that he had dissected more than thirty bodies of men and women of all ages. He has also written on the nature of water, and has filled an infinite number of volumes with treatises on machines and other subjects, all written in the vulgar tongue, which, when published, will be of the greatest profit and delight."

This is our last glimpse of the great master. He could no longer paint, and soon gave up writing.

On the 24th of June, 1518, he began to write in his note-book, but got no further than the date—"*Il dì di San Giovanni, Amboise, nel palazzo di Clou.*" It was the Feast of St. John, a day dear to every citizen of Florence. He lingered through the next winter until, on Easter Eve, April 23, feeling his end near, he sent for a notary and dictated his last will. He left his books and drawings to Francesco Melzi, and divided his vineyard in Milan between his old pupil Salaï and his faithful servant Battista. His French maid-servant, Mathurine, was to be given a gown and mantle of good black cloth, trimmed with fur, and two ducats, in gratitude for her services. Even his quarrelsome brothers were remembered, and the sum of 400 crowns, which he had left in the bank at S. Maria Nuova, was to be divided between them. Ten days afterwards, on the 2nd of May, 1519, Leonardo passed away, and the peace of his last moments recalls his own words: "As a well-spent day gives joy in sleep, so a well-spent life brings joy in dying" (*dà lieto morire*). Melzi announced his beloved master's death to his brothers in Florence in these touching words:—

"I think you have already been informed of the death of Maestro Leonardo, your brother, and to me the best of fathers. I can never tell you how much sorrow this has caused me. It is a loss that, as long as I live, I can never cease to feel; and this is only natural, for he daily showed me the warmest and most devoted affection. All men must lament the death of such a man. May God Almighty give him eternal peace! He left this life on the 2nd of May, well prepared with all the Sacraments of our holy Mother the Church."

Leonardo's remains were buried in the royal chapel of St. Florentin, at Amboise, and, in obedience to his last wishes, thirty masses were said for the repose of his soul, and sixty poor persons followed him to the grave with lighted candles. The date of his final burial is recorded in the following document, discovered by M. Hardouin in 1863 in the registers of St. Florentin of Amboise, and published by M. Müntz.*

"Fût inhumé dans le cloistre de cette église, Messire Leonardi de Vincy, nosble millanais, premier peinctre et ingénieur et architecte du Roy; mechasnischien d'estat, et anchien directeur de peincture du Duc de Millan. Ce fut faict le douze jour d'aoust, 1519."

Leonardo's writings give us the best insight into his mind, and explain many problems that meet us in his works. From these scattered sayings, written down at odd moments, on loose sheets and scraps of paper, on the backs of drawings and in the corners of plans, we can reconstruct a whole philosophy of life. We see him as he was, with his clear and noble intellect, singularly free from the prejudices and superstitions of his age, ever seeking after more light and wider knowledge, but not without a deep reverence for the great First Cause whose nature lies beyond the range of human thought. And if together with his written words we study the magnificent collections of his drawings in the Uffizi, the Louvre, and the royal Library at Windsor, we shall begin to understand the marvellous genius of the man. Everywhere we see the same passionate longing to penetrate

* Leonardo da Vinci. Vol. II. p. 223.

the mysteries and learn the secrets of Nature. All forms of life attracted him. Nothing was too small or insignificant to escape his attention. Studies of plants and brambles, of flowers and roots of trees, are mingled with designs of monuments and hydraulic machines, with anatomical sketches of veins and muscles, drawings of rocks and waves, or grotesques and caricatures. And in the midst of this varied and amazing display of mental activity we find lovely women-faces with Mona Lisa's smile, or fair boys with curled and waving hair, in which the artist has tried to seize and hold fast the fleeting beauty of which he wrote : *Cosa bella mortal passa, e non d'arte*— " Mortal beauty passes away, but not art." As we turn over these wonderful pages, we begin to realise all the greatness of the gifts with which he was endowed, the rare creative faculty and exquisite refinement of feeling which have made Leonardo unique among the Italian painters of the Renaissance, and foremost among the supreme masters of the world.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Uffizi : 1252. Adoration of the Magi (sketch).
Milan.—S. Maria delle Grazie, Refectory : Last Supper ; Portraits of Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este.
Rome.—Vatican : St. Jerome (sketch).
London.—Burlington House, Diploma Gallery : The Madonna and Child, St. John the Baptist and St. Anne (cartoon.)
Paris.—Louvre : 1265. Annunciation.
„ 1598. Madonna and Child with St. Anne.
„ 1599. " La Vierge aux Rochers."
„ 1601. Portrait of Mona Lisa—la Gioconda.

XXI

LORENZO DI CREDI

1459–1537

LEONARDO founded no school in Florence and had no Florentine pupils, but his influence made itself felt in the work of almost every artist of his age. This was above all the case with the masters of the rising generation. Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolommeo, Piero di Cosimo, Raphael himself, studied his works closely and learnt much from his example. They adopted his method of handling colours, and tried to imitate his delicately blended tints and chiaroscuro effects. A new and more intimate note became evident in the character and expression of individual heads, together with a grace and suavity which had never been known before.

One of the second-rate masters who strove diligently to form themselves on Leonardo's pattern, and succeeded in catching something of his charm, was Lorenzo di Credi, his fellow-student in Verrocchio's workshop. Born in 1459, and belonging to a family of goldsmiths, Lorenzo began life in his father's shop, and after his death entered that of Andrea Verrocchio. Here the lad grew up with Leonardo and Perugino as

his comrades in that famous *bottega* where so much of the finest art of the Renaissance had its birth. His gentle and affectionate nature endeared him to all his brother-artists, and made him an especial favourite with his master. In his widowed mother's income-tax return for the year 1480, Lorenzo, who was by this time twenty-one, is described as a painter working under Messer Andrea Verrocchio for a yearly salary of twelve florins—about twenty-four pounds. He must also have assisted his master in his sculptural works, for when Verrocchio died at Venice, in 1488, he recommended his pupil Lorenzo di Credi to the Doge and Signory as the artist best fitted to complete his unfinished statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni. Lorenzo, who had remained at Florence in charge of Andrea's shop, hastened to Venice on hearing of his master's death, and brought back Andrea's body to be buried in Florence. But the casting of the great equestrian statue in bronze was a task beyond his powers, and the work was ultimately entrusted to the Venetian Leopardo. Andrea had further shown his confidence in his favourite scholar by appointing him executor of his will and leaving him the stock of metal and other contents of his shop as well as his household goods, both in Florence and Venice. After his return home, Lorenzo never left Florence, where he became Verrocchio's recognised successor, and was held in high esteem by his fellow-citizens.

The range of his art was almost exclusively limited to panels of sacred subjects, chiefly Madonnas and Saints, Nativities or Annunciations. According to Vasari, he began by copying Madonnas of Verrocchio and Leonardo for the King of Spain, and did his work so well

that it was almost impossible to distinguish the copies from the originals. The Madonna, in the Borghese, with the Child in her arms, leaning forward to bless the young St. John, and the wonderfully-painted glass of flowers on the parapet deceived Vasari even, who describes it as the work of Leonardo. This little picture, which once belonged to Pope Clement VII., unlike most of Lorenzo's works, is painted in tempera, and is marked by that conscientious workmanship and miniature-like finish which made Vasari declare that such excessive care was as blameworthy as extreme negligence. This laborious and minute attention to detail, however, was characteristic of the artist, who ground his colours and distilled the oil with his own hands, and was so careful to keep his tints clear and distinct that he often had as many as thirty different shades of colour on his palette at the same time, and always used a different brush for each. His servant was forbidden to sweep out his studio, lest a single speck of dust should injure the transparency of his colours or spoil the polished surface of his pictures.

Lorenzo's style was mainly derived from that of Verrocchio, whose sharply-defined outlines he preserves, and whose fat babies with awkward limbs and turned-up toes he imitates, while his smiling Virgins and curly-headed angels often recall Leonardo's types. Although he never attained either the grace of Leonardo's forms or the ardent devotion of Perugino's heads, the deep sincerity and earnestness of the man's nature breathes in every picture which he painted. Among his early works are the altar-piece of the Madonna and Saints, in the Duomo of Pistoia, which

ANNUNCIATION (UFFIZI)—LORENZO DI CREDI.

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was probably executed in Verrocchio's life-time; a tempera-painting of an angel bringing the Sacrament to the penitent St. Mary of Egypt, formerly in the Convent of Santa Chiara and now at Berlin, and the graceful little Annunciation, in the Uffizi. Here the youthful Virgin turns round with uplifted hand and an expression of surprise on her face at the Angel just alighted on the floor, and through the round arches and elegant pilasters of the open loggia, we look out on a lovely stretch of green lawn and woodland shades. These park-like landscapes, watered with running streams and planted with long avenues of trees, whose spreading branches throw deep shadows on the grass, recur continually in the pictures of Lorenzo, and form charming settings for his favourite themes of the Annunciation or Noli me Tangere.

A nude Venus which has lately been discovered in the magazines of the Uffizi, and which originally adorned the Medici villa at Cafaggiuolo, reminds us that this gentle painter of sacred stories was among the artists who studied antiques in the Medici gardens with Leonardo and Michelangelo. But the fiery eloquence of Savonarola sank deep into Lorenzo's gentle nature and influenced the whole course of his life and art. He became an ardent *piagnone*, and burnt his studies of nude and pagan subjects on the Bonfire of Vanities, during the Carnival of 1497. In later years he remained closely associated with the artists who had been known as the most devoted followers of Fra Girolamo. He painted the portrait of Benivieni, the poet who gave up writing carnival songs and licentious ballads to compose Lauds and hymns

for the children of San Marco, and together with Giovanni della Corniole, the engraver of the famous gem bearing the head of Savonarola, he witnessed the will of the zealous *piagnone* architect, Cronaca. Again, in 1505, he was chosen, together with Perugino and Corniole, to value the mosaics executed in the Duomo by Monte da Giovanni, a miniature painter who illuminated choir-books for San Marco, and frequently introduced Savonarola's portrait in his designs.

Lorenzo's popularity among his brother-artists, and the confidence which they reposed in his honesty and judgment, is proved by the frequent instances in which he was asked to settle disputes and decide the value of works of art. On one occasion he was called in to settle a quarrel between the Prior of San Marco and a patron who had ordered a picture from Fra Bartolommeo; on another he was chosen to value the paintings of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo in the Palazzo Pubblico and a statue executed by Baccio Bandinelli for the Duomo. He was also among the artists summoned to consult over the façade of the Duomo and the repair of the cupola, and to give their advice regarding the site of Michelangelo's David.

Among the most important works of Lorenzo di Credi's mature period are the Adoration of the Shepherds, with the graceful boy carrying a lamb in his arms, which he painted for the nuns of Santa Chiara, and is now in the Academy, and the Madonna and Saints in the Louvre. This fine work which Vasari calls Lorenzo's masterpiece, originally hung in the church of Cestello, afterwards S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, and was carried off to Paris by

Napoleon. It is chiefly remarkable for the beauty and dignity of the saints who stand on either side of the Virgin's throne—the venerable bishop Nicholas and the chivalrous youth Giuliano with the Leonardesque face and flowing locks, clasping his hands and lifting his eyes to heaven. Both of these pictures were painted before 1508, and are mentioned by Albertini in his "Memorials."

In his latter years Lorenzo spent his time chiefly in repeating old subjects and executing small Madonnas for private chapels and oratories that were in great demand. In 1510, he painted the sadly-damaged altar-piece, now in the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, for the hospital of the Ceppo at Pistoia, by order of the Master of the Florentine hospital, S. Maria Nuova. In 1523, he finished the figure of the Archangel Michael, in the Sacristy of the Duomo, and a year later was employed to restore certain tombs and monuments in the same church. Finally, in 1531, being seventy-two years old, and caring more for a quiet life than for riches or honours, the aged master retired to end his days in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, a foundation closely associated with the convent of San Marco and the Piagnone artists, where Fra Bartolommeo painted his Last Judgment, and the miniaturist, Monte da Giovanni's brother, was organist. At the same time, Lorenzo made a will leaving certain sums to Andrea Verrocchio's niece Ginevra and a few other friends, and bequeathing the rest of his fortune to the hospital, on condition that he should receive a yearly allowance of 36 florins, which was to be continued after his death to his old servant Mona

Caterina. He expressly desires that his funeral should be as simple as possible, and that his money may be devoted to the sick and needy. Six years later, on the 12th of January, 1537, this excellent artist and faithful follower of Savonarola breathed his last, and was buried in the church of S. Pietro Maggiore.

Like his master, Lorenzo was an admirable portrait-painter, and several good specimens of his skill in this branch of art are still in existence. The Berlin Gallery contains an interesting profile of a young girl in a white, square-cut bodice, with pale red sleeves and a coral necklace, which goes by the name of Verrocchio, but is really an early work by Lorenzo di Credi. The words "Noli me Tangere," are written below, and at the back of the panel, on a shield wreathed in laurel, we read the following lines from the sonnet long ascribed to Leonardo, and evidently a favourite in his circle, but which we now know to have been composed by the poet Matteo di Meglio:—

> "Fù che Iddio volle, sarà che Iddio vorrà,
> Timore d'infamia, e solo disio d'onore.
> Piansi già quello ch'io volli, poi ch'io l'ebbi."*

The portrait of a painter, which is described in the Uffizi catalogue as that of Verrocchio, is more probably that of Perugino, his comrade in that master's workshop, while in a fine drawing of an old man, at Chatsworth, Morelli recognised the likeness of the sculptor Mino da Fiesole. Three or four striking heads in red chalk, by Lorenzo's

* "What God willed, has been, what He wills must be;
Let us fear infamy and only desire honour.
I wept over what I had once desired when it became mine."

hand, are also preserved in the Reiset Collection, in the Salle des Dessins at the Louvre.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia: 92. Adoration of the Shepherds.
94. Nativity.
„ *Uffizi:* 24. Madonna and Child.
34. Portrait of Youth.
1160, 1314. Annunciation.
1163. Portrait of Perugino.
1311, 1313. Noli me Tangere.
3452. Venus.
„ *Duomo, Sacristy:* St. Michael.
„ *S. Domenico di Fiesole:* Baptism.
Bergamo.—Morelli Collection: 49. Madonna and Child.
Naples.—Museum, Sala Toscana: 27. Nativity.
Pistoia.—Duomo: Madonna and Child with Saints.
„ *Madonna del Letto:* Madonna and Child with Saints.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 433. Madonna and Child with St. John.
„ *Capitol Museum:* 70. Madonna and Child with Angels.
Turin.—Museum: 115, 118. Madonna and Child.
Venice.—Palazzo Querini-Stampalia, Sala III.: 4. Madonna and Child with St. John.
Berlin.—Gallery: 80. Portrait of Girl.
100. Madonna and Child.
103. St. Mary of Egypt and Angel.
Carlsruhe.—Gallery: 409. Madonna and Child with St. John.
Dresden.—Gallery: 15. Madonna and Child with Saints.
London.—National Gallery: 593. Madonna and Child.
648. Madonna adoring Child.
„ *Mr. Butler:* Madonna and Child.
„ *Earl of Rosebery:* St. George.
Longleat.—Marquis of Bath: Madonna and Child.
Oxford.—University Galleries: 26. Madonna.
Mayence.—Gallery: 105. Madonna and Child.
Paris.—Louvre: 1263. Madonna and Child with Saints.
1264. Noli me Tangere.
Strasburg.—Museum: 215. Madonna and Child.

XXII

PIERO DI COSIMO

1462–1521

PIERO DI COSIMO is one of those artists who suffered from temporary neglect and whose rare merits have only been lately recognised. Many of his works formerly passed under the names of other masters, but have recently been restored to him, and now we are once more able to form a clear idea of his style. The first notice we have of this gifted but eccentric artist is in 1480, when his father, Lorenzo Chimenti, himself a goldsmith-painter, describes his son as a painter earning no salary, and working in Cosimo Rosselli's shop. It was from Cosimo that Piero, who was then eighteen, derived his name. Rosselli loved him as his own son, and had good reason, Vasari remarks, to treat him well, since Piero, being a far better artist than his master, became indispensable to him, and was employed on all his important works. Two years after this, Piero accompanied Cosimo to Rome, and not only painted the landscapes and many of the portraits in his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, but himself executed the Destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which was supposed to be Rosselli's work. As

Botticelli had glorified the pious and merciful acts of Pope Sixtus in his fresco of the Purification of the Leper, so Piero was desired to celebrate his warlike deeds, and especially the victory which the papal general, Roberto di Sanseverino, had obtained at Campomorto in August, 1482, over Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, whose armies had invaded the papal dominions and threatened Rome itself. Moses, the leader of the chosen people, is represented standing on the shore, watching the Egyptian hosts and the chariots of Pharaoh in the act of being swallowed up by the raging seas, while Miriam, attended by the Hebrew women, chaunts her song of triumph at his side. The groups of warriors and horses struggling in the waves, the angry skies and the fury of the elements, are rendered with great truth and force, and the whole fresco is distinctly superior to the earlier works executed by Cosimo Rosselli, who probably found this subject beyond his powers.

After his return to Florence, Piero began to work as an independent master, and received many important commissions towards the close of the century, when Ghirlandajo was dead and Leonardo absent in Milan. Filippino's influence appears in several round Madonnas and Holy Families of his earlier period, as well as in the large altar-piece of the Conception, which he painted for the Tedaldi Chapel in the Annunziata, and which is now in the Uffizi. Here the Virgin is represented standing on a pedestal, adorned with a bas-relief of the Annunciation, and looking up with rapt expression at the Holy Dove which hovers in a sea of golden light above. Six saints, among whom are Filippo Benizzi, the founder of the Servite

order, and Archbishop Antonino, kneel at her feet, and a fantastic landscape of steep rocks, crowned with palms and buildings, fills up the background. The other altar-piece which he painted about this time, after many delays and prevarications, for his friend the Spedalingo of the Innocenti, is still preserved in that hospital. Here the Virgin is enthroned and the Child bends down to place the ring on St. Katherine's finger, while S. Rosa offers him flowers, and two aged saints and six boy-angels, wreathed with roses and holding lighted tapers, make up the group. Both the reading Magdalen, in a red robe, with pearls in her brown hair, which was until lately the property of the Monte di Pietà in Rome, and the Holy Family, which long bore Signorelli's name, at Dresden, strongly resemble Filippino's works.

But a new and more individual phase of Piero di Cosimo's art is seen in the tempera pictures which he painted for the decoration of the houses and furniture of the cultured Florentines of Lorenzo de' Medici's circle. The romantic bent of his genius throws a faëry glamour over the Greek myths which he renders in so quaint a fashion, whether he paints the nymphs hastening with flowers and fruits, and their little white dog in their arms, to bring back the fair boy Hylas to life, or the faithful hound Lelaps watching over the dead body of Procris on the flowery shore. In taking the loves of Venus and Mars for his subject, and representing the goddess with Cupid and a pet rabbit in her arms, reclining in the myrtle bowers where the god of war slumbers, Piero was bold enough to enter into competition with Botticelli; but if his drawing falls short

of Sandro's vigorous line, his landscape, with the rose-bushes and blue lake sleeping in the clear sunshine, is far more lovely. Like several of his contemporaries, it is plain, he had studied the minute rendering of objects in Hugo van der Goes' triptych and other Flemish landscapes, and had learnt from their example to reproduce every detail with what Vasari calls "almost incredible patience."

The panels of the story of Perseus and Andromeda, in the Uffizi, were ordered by Filippo Strozzi, and are executed in oils, a medium in which Piero loved to make experiments, and in which he strove to emulate Leonardo's *sfumato* tints and effects of chiaroscuro. The influence of this great master is strongly marked in his later works, such as the Borghese Madonna, the Judgment of Solomon in the same collection, and the larger Uffizi panel, in which he repeats the subject of Andromeda's deliverance, and introduces a group of musicians celebrating the triumph of Perseus. An old inventory, of 1589, states that the figures in this beautiful painting were drawn by Leonardo, probably when he was in Florence in the first years of the sixteenth century, although the colouring and landscape are plainly Piero's work. And it is worthy of note that Piero di Cosimo is one of the few Florentine masters whose name appears in Leonardo's note-books.

The "horrid sea-monster" which this master painted for Leonardo's patron, Giuliano de' Medici, and the satyrs, fauns, and bacchantes with which he decorated panels in the Vespucci Palace, have been lost, but one work which he executed for the same noble family is fortunately still in existence.

This is the portrait of "la bella Simonetta," which hung in the Palazzo Vespucci in Florence until it was bought by M. Reiset, from whose collection it passed into that of the Duc d'Aumale at Chantilly. The fair Genoese maiden who wedded Giuliano Vespucci when she was sixteen, and was so sweet and charming that all men praised her and no women envied her, died of lingering consumption in April 1476, little more than a year after Giuliano de' Medici had chosen her to be the Queen of his Tournament. Lorenzo, who was absent at the time of her illness and loved her with brotherly affection, sent his own doctor to attend her, and received daily reports of her condition. When she was borne to her grave in Ognissanti, all Florence flocked to look once more on the lovely face that was even fairer in death than in life, and endless were the elegies and sonnets composed in her honour. The two portraits of Simonetta by Sandro Botticelli in the Medici collection, which Vasari mentions, have disappeared, and the bust in the Pitti, which Mr. Berenson ascribes to Amico di Sandro, does scanty justice to her beauty. Piero di Cosimo, who was a boy of fourteen when Simonetta died, must have painted her portrait from some medal or drawing, but he has succeeded in rendering the spiritual charm and vivacity of her countenance. A striped scarf is thrown over her shoulders, her golden hair is braided with pearls and rubies, and a jewel in the shape of a serpent with dark-green scales is twisted round her white neck, while the panel bears the inscription "*Simonetta Januensis Vespuccia.*"

Several other portraits by Piero's hand, all marked with the same note of distinction, have been pre-

LA BELLA SIMONETTA (CHANTILLY)—PIERO DI COSIMO.

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served, and give us a high idea of his skill in the delineation of character. There is the dark-eyed warrior in gleaming armour of the National Gallery, with the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio and Piazza della Signoria behind him, and the Florentine matron with her pet rabbit in her lap, in the Jarves Collection in the United States. There are the portraits of his own intimate friends, Giuliano di San Gallo and his father, which Vasari describes, and which Signor Frizzoni discovered at the Hague, the one holding a pair of compasses, the other a sheet of paper in his hands. And there is Caterina Sforza, the heroic Madonna who held the citadel of Forli against Cæsar Borgia and the combined French and papal armies, and who came to end her days in the home of her Medici husband.

As a young man, Piero di Cosimo frequently devoted his talents to the preparation of the carnival pageants and masquerades in which the Florentines took delight, and the Medici were glad to avail themselves of his inventive powers in the *festas* with which they amused the people. At the Carnival of 1511, his weird fancy found expression in a triumphal car of Death, which paraded the streets drawn by black buffaloes, and escorted by a corps of horsemen in black, bearing sable banners and chanting the *Miserere*. This gruesome fantasy, as Vasari afterwards heard from Piero's pupil, Andrea del Sarto, was intended to be a secret prophecy of the return of the Medici, and was accordingly warmly applauded by their partisans, as if it were "a resurrection from death to life."

From his youth Piero di Cosimo had been a way-

ward and eccentric being, full of strange ideas and unreasonable caprices. He never would allow the vines and fig-trees of his garden to be pruned or trained, but allowed them to run wild, saying that Nature must have her way. And he would stand for hours watching the clouds and framing fantastic landscapes and cities out of their changing shapes, much after the fashion suggested by Leonardo in his book on Painting. But after his master's death, his dislike of society and aversion to his fellow-creatures increased with every year, until in his last days he became a complete misanthrope. He lived alone, without servants or companions, and only a few intimate friends were admitted to his house. His daily fare consisted chiefly of hard-boiled eggs, which he cooked, by fifty at a time, in the water which he used to heat his size. He was terribly afraid of thunder and lightning, and would close all the doors and windows, and crouch in a corner, with his head under his mantle, until the storm had passed away. And he had a perfect horror of noises, whether of screaming children, church-bells, or singing friars. Even the buzzing of flies excited his wrath beyond control, and he would fly into a rage with the very shadows on the wall. When he was ill, he refused the help of either doctors or nurses, and was fond of contrasting the misery of a death-bed, surrounded by weeping friends and disturbed by the visits of tiresome doctors and unfeeling servants, with the end of the victim of justice, who goes to the scaffold in the light of day and fulness of strength, attended by priests who pray that angels may receive his soul, and followed by the blessings and sympathy of

waiting crowds. He must have rejoiced that death came suddenly to him at the last. One morning in the year 1521, he was found dead at the foot of his stairs, and was buried by his friends in the ancient church of S. Pietro Maggiore.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Uffizi: 81. The Immaculate Conception.
82-84. Perseus and Andromeda.
1312. The deliverance of Andromeda.
3414. Portrait of Caterina Sforza.
" *Pitti:* 370. Head of Saint.
" *Spedale degli Innocenti:* Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels.
" *S. Lorenzo:* Madonna and Saints adoring the Child.
Milan.—Palazzo Borromeo: Sala Centrale: 19. Madonna and Child.
" *Prince Trivulzio:* Madonna and Child with Angels.
Rome.—Vatican: Sistine Chapel: Fresco—Destruction of Pharaoh.
" *Borghese Villa:* 329. Judgment of Solomon.
335. Madonna and Child.
343. Madonna and Child with Angels.
" *Corsini:* Magdalen.
Berlin.—Gallery: 107. Mars and Venus.
" 204. Adoration of the Shepherds.
Chantilly.—"La Bella Simonetta."
Dresden. — Gallery: 20. Madonna and Child with Angels.
The Hague.—Gallery: 254, 255. Portraits of Giuliano and Francesco di San Gallo.
London.—National Gallery: 698. Death of Procris.
895. Portrait of Warrior.
" *Mr. Benson:* Hylas and the Nymphs.
" *Mr. Ricketts:* Centaurs and Lapithæ.
" *Mr. Street:* Madonna and Child.
Newlands.—Colonel Cornwallis West: Visitation.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Oxford.—Christ Church: Pietà.

Newhaven U.S.A.—Jarves Collection: 68. Portrait of a Lady with a Rabbit.

Paris.—Louvre: 1274. St. John Baptist.
1416. Coronation of the Virgin.
1622. Madonna and Child.

Vienna. — *Harrach Gallery:* Madonna and Child with Angels.

" *Lichtenstein Gallery:* Madonna and Child.

XXIII

FRA BARTOLOMMEO

1475–1517

THE same Dominican convent which once numbered Fra Angelico among its brothers, gave the world another painter who was reckoned among the foremost masters of the sixteenth century. Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco never attained to the intense fervour and spirituality of Fra Giovanni, but he was a painter of great intellectual power and deep sincerity who gave utterance to his pure and reverent thoughts in the more perfect language of art in his age. He is especially interesting as the chief representative of Savonarola's revival, who embraced the faith of the Friar and followed in his steps to the end, while at the same time he was one of the first artists to accept the ideas of the new century, to put in practice the principles of Leonardo and prepare the way for Raphael.

Baccio della Porta, as Fra Bartolommeo was called in his youth, was the son of a poor muleteer named Paolo Fattorino, who saved enough money to buy a plot of land and a house near the Porta di San Pier Gattolini, outside the walls of Florence. There his

eldest child, a boy named Bartolommeo, was born in 1475, and became known as Baccio della Porta. At nine years old he was placed, by the sculptor Benedetto da Majano's advice, in the *bottega* of Cosimo Rosselli, where he was employed to grind colours and sweep out the shop, and soon showed himself so capable and trustworthy that his master often sent him to receive payments. His sweet and gentle nature won the hearts of his companions, especially of another apprentice named Mariotto Albertinelli, who was about a year older, and who became his closest friend. "The two lads," says Vasari, "became, as it were, one body and soul." Yet from the first these young students were very different in their tastes. Baccio loved to study Masaccio's frescoes in the dim chapel of the Carmine, while Mariotto preferred to copy antiques in the Medici gardens. When Savonarola's preaching stirred all Florence to its depths, Baccio was daily to be found among the crowds in the Duomo who listened gladly to his words and wept over his pathetic appeals, while Mariotto joined the opposite faction of the *Arrabbiati*, and openly scoffed at the *piagnoni*. But the tie that bound the friends together was too strong to be lightly severed, and when, in 1492, the death of Baccio's father and step-mother left a family of young brothers dependent upon his exertions, he and Mariotto opened a shop together and began to accept commissions on their own account.

It is difficult to point with certainty to any pictures which Baccio executed at this early period, but the Madonna adoring the Child, in the Visconti-Venostà Collection in Milan, the "Noli me Tangere" in the

Louvre, and the Nativity and Circumcision in the Uffizi, were probably among the devotional pictures which he painted, according to Vasari, for private oratories and houses in these days of revived religious enthusiasm. The last-named panels were originally intended for the doors of a tabernacle containing a Virgin, by Donatello, which Filippino's patron, Piero del Pugliese, held among his choicest treasures, and are remarkable for their exquisite finish and tender devotion. The portrait of Savonarola, which Baccio, "moved by his ardent love for the Friar," painted about this time, is said to be still preserved in a private collection at Prato, and bears the inscription, *Hieronymi Ferrariensis missi a Deo, prophetæ effigies*, which was discovered under a coat of paint, with which the words were concealed in the days of persecution. A copy of this interesting picture, which shows the Friar's powerful head and striking features in all their rugged grandeur, may be seen in the cell formerly inhabited by Savonarola in San Marco. The young painter himself took an active part in the *piagnone* movement. Together with Lorenzo di Credi and many other artists, he laid his nude studies on the pyre erected on the Piazza at the Carnival of 1497, and saw the flames consume them. And he was among the gallant little band of defenders who rallied round their beloved leader on the fatal night when the furious mob stormed the convent and dragged the Frate to prison and death. The terrible events of these days, and the months of misery and despair that followed, were a crushing blow to the ardent young painter, who had looked on the Friar as the prophet sent from God to be the deliverer of

Florence. For a time he struggled bravely to work at his art, and, at Gerozzo Dini's request, began to paint the fresco of the Last Judgment on the walls of the Campo Santo attached to the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. To-day only faded and blackened fragments of this once noble work remain, but there is still a monumental grandeur about the composition, a dignity and elevation of type which are profoundly impressive. In this grand conception of the avenging Judge appearing with uplifted arm on the clouds of heaven, attended by all his Saints, we see how in those dark hours Savonarola's follower clung to the eternal truths for which his master had lived and died. But the task was beyond his strength, and, when the upper part of the fresco was finished, Baccio left the rest to be finished by his friend Albertinelli, on the 26th of July, 1500, and took the vows of a novice in the Dominican convent at Prato.

During the next four years he gave up painting entirely, and only resumed his brush at the urgent entreaty of the Prior of San Marco, the wise and learned Santi-Pagnini. Henceforth Fra Bartolommeo, as he was now known, resolved to devote his art to the glory of God and the benefit of his community, remembering how Savonarola had encouraged all friars who had no vocation for preaching or theology to study painting and architecture. His first altar-piece was the Vision of St. Bernard, which he agreed to paint, on the 13th of November, 1504, for a chapel in the Badia, and which now hangs, much injured and re-painted, in the Accademia. A prolonged dispute arose over the price of this picture between the Prior and Bernardo del Bianco, by whose order it was

painted ; several arbiters were called in, and it was not till 1507 that the painter finally received the sum of 100 florins.

In 1504, the same year in which Fra Bartolommeo resumed the practice of his art, Raphael came to Florence and was deeply impressed by the Dominican artist's fresco of the Last Judgment. He sought out Fra Bartolommeo and was constantly in his company, being anxious to learn the secret of his fine colour and his method of handling oils. Many of Raphael's works at this period, especially the fresco in S. Severo at Perugia, and the Madonna of S. Antonio, now in America, bear witness to the attention with which he studied Fra Bartolommeo's modelling and composition, and even in his drawings he adopted the charcoal which the friar employed habitually. On his part, Fra Bartolommeo felt the power of the great Urbinate's spell, and the fresco of the Madonna clasping the Child in her arms which he painted on the wall of Savonarola's cell in San Marco, closely resembles Raphael's Casa Tempi Madonna, at Munich. The influence of Leonardo, who was engaged about this time on the fresco in the Council Hall, is even more evident in the masterly drawings by the friar's hand which are to be found in the Uffizi and other galleries, and it was the close study of this artist's works which produced the next development of Fra Bartolommeo's style. To this period we may also ascribe the fresco of the Crucifixion in the Refectory of San Marco, and the lunette in which the friar repeats Fra Angelico's well-known subject of Christ and his disciples at Emmaus, and introduces the portraits of his friend the Prior and of Fra Niccolo, afterwards Cardinal Schomberg.

In 1508, Raphael left Florence for Rome, and Fra Bartolommeo obtained leave to go to Venice, where, in company with the *piagnone* sculptor, Baccio da Montelupo, he visited the churches and palaces on the lagoons, and saw the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini and the frescoes of Titian and Giorgione in the glory of their first freshness. At the prayer of the Dominicans of S. Pietro Martire at Murano, he agreed to paint an altar-piece for their church, and received twenty-five florins in advance, together with three more to buy colours, hoping to raise the rest of the money by the sale of some letters of St Katherine of Siena in their possession. Immediately after his return to Florence the painter set to work on this picture—the noble Vision of God the Father adored by St. Katherine of Siena and the Magdalen, now in the Lucca Gallery. But the friars of Murano were unable to raise the remainder of the 100 florins which they had promised the painter, and, at the end of three years, Fra Bartolommeo gave the work to his friend Prior Pagnini, who presented it to the church of San Romano in his native city of Lucca. In the same year, 1509, the master painted another fine altar-piece of the Virgin enthroned between St. John the Baptist and a youthful St. Stephen, with the palm of victory in his hand and the stones of martyrdom on his head, which still adorns the Duomo of Lucca. Here the angels flying in the air and holding the crown over the Virgin's head are very similar to those introduced by Raphael in his unfinished Madonna del Baldacchino, while the lovely cherub playing the lute on the steps of the throne was evidently suggested by the child angels in Gian Bellini s Venetian altar-pieces Both pictures

are exceedingly rich in colour, and show the mastery of chiaroscuro which the painter had acquired from the study of Leonardo's style. In his fresco of the Last Judgment, Fra Bartolommeo had already revealed himself as a master of great and original power. This imposing design forms, as it were, a link between the old world and the new, and takes us back, on the one hand, to the mediæval conceptions of early Tuscan masters in the Campo Santo, while on the other it points onward to Raphael's Disputa. Now, under the irresistible might of Leonardo's influence, the Dominican artist advances a step further and becomes the representative of the modern style, with its abstract types, its scientific disposition of groups and masses of light and shade, its grand and monumental composition.

In 1509, the year in which these two masterpieces were completed, Fra Bartolommeo took his old friend and associate Mariotto Albertinelli into partnership with him once more. Now that Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael were all absent, the Dominican master had more orders than he knew how to execute, and found himself the most popular painter in Florence. A contract was drawn up between the Prior of San Marco and Albertinelli, by which the convent was to supply the necessary materials, and on the dissolution of the partnership, the works painted by both artists were to be sold, and the profits divided between them. The pictures which the two masters painted separately bear their respective signatures, while the works which they executed jointly, are inscribed with a monogram of the cross between two rings. For three years the two artists

worked together in perfect harmony, and many were the fine paintings that issued from the convent-workshop. One of the most delightful of Fra Bartolommeo's smaller pictures, the Holy Family, at Panshanger, belongs to this period, and was probably painted in 1509, soon after the Madonna at Lucca. The tender charm of Raphael's art and the delicate tints of Leonardo's colouring are blended together in this happy group of Mother and Children resting under palm and pomegranate trees in the sunny landscape, while St. Joseph, a venerable form with a grandly modelled head, leans on his staff behind them. After the dissolution of the partnership between Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli, this picture was bought by Filippi Salviati, a devoted follower of Savonarola and intimate friend of the painter, who already owned the artist's portrait of the martyred Friar. The same delicate feeling and gentle grace appear in the altar-piece of the Virgin and Saints, in the Church of San Marco, a picture which was painted in 1509, and which, Bottari tells us, was actually taken for a work of Raphael by the artist Pietro da Cortona. The large altar-piece of the Marriage of St. Katherine in the Louvre, was also painted for San Marco, but was bought by the Signory in 1511, and presented to the French ambassador, Jacques Hurault, Bishop of Autun. A second version of the subject, on a still grander scale, bearing the date 1512 and the words "*Orate pro Pictore*," was executed in the following year, to replace the former work, and is now in the Pitti. Another fine composition of the Virgin in Glory, adored by angels and saints, is still to be seen

in the Cathedral of Besançon, and was painted for Ferry Carondelet, Chancellor of Flanders, and envoy of the Emperor Maximilian to the papal court. The donor, who was also Archdeacon of Besançon, appears kneeling in the foreground, and the picture is mentioned in the account-books of San Marco as having been sent to a "M. Ferrino" in Flanders.

In all of these works Fra Bartolommeo shows himself the true child of the Renaissance. His design is symmetrical and imposing, his figures are admirably modelled, while his thorough knowledge of chiaroscuro and anatomy are plainly seen. The Dominican master indeed devoted special attention to the structure of the human frame, and was one of the first Florentine artists who made use of jointed lay-figures. Unfortunately, in his anxiety to obtain strong relief, and to rival the roundness of Leonardo's forms, he made use of bone-black and printer's ink to deepen the shadows, a practice which proved disastrous in many instances, and ruined the lovely colour which is so marked a feature of his earlier works.

In January, 1512, the partnership between Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli was dissolved, and the sum of 450 florins, produced by the sale of their joint works during the last three years, was divided between Mariotto and the convent. Fourteen months before, on the 26th of November, 1510, Fra Bartolommeo had received a commission from Pietro Soderini, the Gonfaloniere of the Republic, to paint the altar-piece for the Hall of the Great Council in the Palazzo Pubblico. When the hall had first been erected in Savonarola's days, this order had been

given to Filippino, but afterwards abandoned in the troubled times which followed. Now the Medici had been once more expelled, and Fra Girolamo's dream of a free city was again revived. Once more the old cries were heard in the streets, and Christ was once more proclaimed King in Florence. Fra Bartolommeo received the Gonfaloniere's commission with joy, and set to work with enthusiasm on the great picture which was to commemorate this event. This noble cartoon, in brown monochrome, of the "Virgin pleading for the liberties of Florence," with St. Anne and the ten patron Saints of the Florentines at her side, is now in the Uffizi, and the original drawings, together with several studies of the different figures, are still preserved in the same collection. But before the work was finished, another revolution had taken place. The Medici returned again, and the short-lived dream of liberty was over. Eventually the cartoon was purchased by Ottaviano de' Medici, a warm admirer of Fra Bartolommeo's art, and placed in the church of S. Lorenzo.

In 1514, Fra Bartolommeo listened to his friend Raphael's urgent entreaties, and paid a visit to Rome, where he was the guest of Fra Mariano Fetti, the keeper of the papal seals, at the Dominican convent of S. Silvestro on the Quirinal. But the climate affected his health, and at the end of two months he left Rome, seriously ill with malarial fever, and was sent by his Superior to the country hospital of the Dominicans at Pian di Mugnone. During the next two years, in spite of failing health and frequent returns of fever, Fra Bartolommeo's activity was greater than ever. The

GROUP FROM THE MADONNA DELLA MISERICORDIA (LUCCA).

FRA BARTOLOMMEO.

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colossal St. Mark, of the Pitti, a figure evidently inspired by the sight of Michelangelo's prophets in the Sistina, was painted in 1514, as well as a nude St. Sebastian, which hung for some time in San Marco. This figure, however, offended some of the more scrupulous friars, and was eventually sold to the French king's agent, Giovanni Battista della Palla. In 1515, the artist completed the Annunciation, in the Louvre, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the Quirinal, which he presented to his host, Fra Mariano, and which, according to Vasari, were retouched by Raphael at the painter's request. And in the same year, at the wish of the Dominican friars of the convent of San Romano at Lucca, he painted the great canvas of the Madonna della Misericordia, with the lovely groups of women and children among the crowd of worshippers taking shelter under the blue mantle of the Virgin-Mother. Unfortunately, the works of this last period, in spite of many beauties, all reveal the same fatal tendency to emulate the statuesque grandeur of Michelangelo's style which Fra Bartolommeo shared with all his Florentine contemporaries. To this vain and futile endeavour the painter sacrificed his own exquisite sense of beauty and symmetry, and that instinctive grace and tender feeling which are the charm of his earlier works.

The prolonged strain of continual effort and uninterrupted labours had seriously affected the Friar's health, and, in October, 1515, he once more sought rest and change of air at Pian di Mugnone, where he painted a fresco of the Annunciation in the convent church of S. Maddalena. On his way back to Florence, he stopped at his father's native village of Suffignano,

and while staying with his humble kinsfolk in this place, received a pressing invitation from King Francis I. to visit his court. He promised to consider the subject, but was detained in Florence for the present by work for his own convent. His presence was particularly required that winter, as Pope Leo X. came to Florence; and when, at the prayer of the friars of San Marco, he issued a decree for the canonization of S. Antonino, Fra Bartolommeo commemorated the event by painting the little picture of the burial of the good Archbishop, which is now at Panshanger. The Pope was known to be a great admirer of Fra Bartolommeo's work, and when, in 1512, he visited Florence, Prior Pagnini had presented him with one of the painter's most charming works—the dainty little Nativity in the Mond Collection. A Madonna in Sir Frederick Cook's collection, and the lovely Holy Family, of the Corsini Palace, a gem of pure colour and miniature-like finish, which was painted for that well-known patron of art, Angelo Doni, both bear the date of 1516. Another wealthy merchant, Salvatore Billi, employed the friar to paint the large Salvator Mundi, of the Pitti, and the figures of the prophets Job and Isaiah, in the Uffizi, for his chapel in the Annunziata. This altarpiece was bought early in the next century by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, after whose death, in 1663, it was removed to the Pitti and divided into separate portions. The Assumption, at Naples, was also painted in 1516, for a church at Prato, while the Presentation, in the Vienna Gallery, was painted for the Chapel of the Novices in San Marco, where it remained for more than two hundred years. Last of

all, Fra Bartolommeo painted his great altar-piece of the Deposition, in the Pitti, for the Augustinian convent outside the Porta San Gallo. The shadow of the coming end may have helped to deepen the pathos and reverent feeling which give this noble picture so high a place among the works of a decadent age. On the 15th of June, 1517, Fra Bartolommeo sent a little Madonna to Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, together with a head of Christ for his wife, Lucrezia Borgia, excusing himself for his delay in gratifying the Duke's wishes, owing to pressure of work. Then he went to spend the summer months at his favourite retreat, Pian di Mugnone, and enjoy a short interval of sorely-needed rest. But he soon took up his brush again and painted a fresco of Christ appearing to the Magdalen, in the convent church, and a portrait of Savonarola as S. Pietro Martire, in the Dominican habit, with the sword-cut in his head. This precious picture, in which the painter gave a last proof of the faithful affection with which he clung to the memory of his beloved teacher, was removed to San Marco after Fra Bartolommeo's death, and fondly treasured by the brothers as a relic of their most illustrious artist. Early in the autumn he returned to Florence, but a fresh attack of fever carried him off in a few days. He died on the 6th of October, 1517, at the age of forty-two, and was buried with all honour in his own convent church.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—Accademia: 58. St. Vincent.
97. Vision of St. Bernard.
168, 171, 173. Frescoes — Heads of Madonnas and Saints.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Florence.—Accademia: 172. Portrait of Savonarola.
" *Pitti:* 64. Deposition.
125. St. Mark.
159. Christ and the Evangelists.
208. Madonna and Child with Saints.
256. Holy Family.
377. Fresco—Ecce Homo.
" *Uffizi:* 1126. Isaiah.
1130. Job.
1161. Diptych of Nativity and Circumcision.
1265. Madonna and Child with Saints (unfinished).
" *S. Marco, Refectory:* Fresco—Crucifixion.
" *Savonarola's Cell:* Madonna and Child.
" Portrait of Friar, Christ at Emmaus.
" *Church:* Madonna and Child with Saints.
" *S. Maria Nuova:* Last Judgment (partly). Now in Uffizi.
Lucca.—Duomo: Madonna and Child with Saints.
" *Gallery: Sala II.:* 5. Madonna della Misericordia.
12. God the Father adored by Saints.
Pian di Mugnone.—S. Maddalena: Frescoes—Annunciation, Noli me Tangere.
Naples.—Sala Grande: 61. Assumption.
Rome.—Corsini Gallery: 579. Holy Family.
" *Lateran:* SS. Peter and Paul.
Berlin.—Gallery: 249. Assumption (partly).
Besançon.—Cathedral: Madonna in Glory, and Saints.
London.—National Gallery: 1694. Madonna and Child.
" *Mr. Mond:* Holy Family, Nativity.
" *Earl of Northbrook:* Holy Family (partly).
Panshanger.—Holy Family, Burial of S. Antonino.
Paris.—Louvre: 1115. Noli me Tangere.
1153. Annunciation.
1154. Madonna and Child with Saints.
Richmond.—Sir Frederick Cook: Holy Family.
Vienna.—Gallery: 34. Madonna and Child.
38. Madonna and Saints.
41. Presentation.
St Petersburg.—Hermitage: 20. Madonna and Child with four Angels.

XXIV

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

1474–1515

THE great influence exerted by Fra Bartolommeo on his contemporaries is proved by the number of excellent masters who adopted his manner and worked in his style. Chief among these was Mariotto Albertinelli, or, as his family was originally called, Bertinelli. He was born in Florence on the 13th of October, 1474, and, after practising his father's trade of gold-beater for several years, was apprenticed to Cosimo Rosselli, and learnt painting from this master and his more distinguished assistant, Piero di Cosimo. In their workshop Mariotto first met Baccio della Porta, and formed that friendship which lasted to the end of his life. Albertinelli was, writes Vasari, another Fra Bartolommeo. So entirely did he sink his own artistic individuality in that of his friend, that it is often difficult to distinguish between the work of the two artists. But, as we have already seen, Mariotto's character and habits were strangely unlike those of the Dominican friar. Baccio was gentle and serious, fond of study and music, and devoted to Fra Girolamo and his teaching. Mariotto was a gay, reckless

prodigal who railed at priests and friars, took delight in wild pranks and noisy company, and is justly described by Vasari as a "*persona inquietissima.*" From the first he proclaimed himself a partisan of the Medici, and received his earliest commissions from Madonna Alfonsina Orsini, the wife of Piero de' Medici. He painted this lady's portrait and executed several pictures for her, which were sent to Rome and afterwards became the property of Cæsar Borgia. An altar-piece of the Annunciation, in the Duomo of Volterra, and a lovely little triptych of the Virgin between St. Katherine and St. Barbara, in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, are the earliest of his works now in existence. This last bears the date of 1500, and was, until lately, ascribed to Fra Bartolommeo, whose early panels in the Uffizi it resembles closely.

When Baccio took the vows of the Dominican Order, he begged Albertinelli to finish the fresco of the Last Judgment, which he had begun in the Campo Santo of S. Maria Nuova, since it distressed him to break his contract with his employer, Gerozzo Dini. Mariotto consented, and introduced the portraits of Gerozzo and of the master of the hospital among the blessed, and of himself and his scholar Giuliano Bugiardini among the dead who rise from their tombs at the trumpet-sound. The skill with which he performed his task added greatly to his reputation, and he opened a shop on his own account in the Via Gualfonda. Here, in 1503, he painted his finest work, the Visitation. This famous picture was ordered by a congregation of priests for a church dedicated to St. Martin and St. Elizabeth, where it remained until it was removed to the

Uffizi. The treatment of the subject follows that of Giotto's in the Arena Chapel, but the traditional types are cleverly adapted to the style of the painter's own day. The porch of Elizabeth's house is transformed into a Renaissance portico with elegant pilasters adorned with arabesques, and only the two figures essential to the story are retained. Both the easy folds of the drapery and the glowing colours of Mary's deep blue mantle and of Elizabeth's green robe and orange cloak, recall Fra Bartolommeo's work. The group is arranged with masterly skill, the forms of the meeting women are framed in by the archway, and the eager action of the aged Saint, as she bends forward to greet the Mother of her Lord, with an expression of tender sympathy on her face, is finely rendered. But in those golden days, even second-rate artists knew instinctively how to design great pictures, and occasionally attained to the highest excellence. The predella of the picture, consisting of three small subjects,—the Annunciation, Nativity, and Presentation—is in the Uffizi, as well as the original drawing of the Visitation.

A round of the Madonna adoring the Christ, which is more in Lorenzo di Credi's style, was painted about the same time, while a large altar-piece of the Virgin between St. Jerome and St. Zenobius, in the Louvre, was finished in 1506, for a chapel in the Trinità. In the same year, Albertinelli was employed by the monks of the Certosa in Val d'Ema, three miles outside the Porta Romana, to paint a fresco of the Crucifixion in their Chapter-house. This fine work is executed in Fra Bartolommeo's manner, but the

figures of the Magdalen and St. John and the angels hovering in the air to receive the blood that drops from the sacred wounds, are distinctly Peruginesque in feeling. Mariotto's natural dislike of monks and friars, however, had been only increased by the loss of his friend, and the poor Carthusians found him and his assistants very troublesome guests. They played tricks on the brothers and stole their meagre allowance of daily food, until, in their anxiety to be rid of these tormentors, the monks agreed to double their rations, if they would finish the work as speedily as possible, to which Mariotto and his comrades gladly agreed, amidst shouts of noisy merriment.

About this time, Albertinelli, whose love for his friend had never changed, agreed to take charge of Fra Bartolommeo's brother Piero, a feeble and vicious youth, who was a source of constant trouble and anxiety to his family. But instead of learning painting, Piero was always escaping from Albertinelli's house and getting into mischief, and at length, in 1512, he was placed in the hospital of the Innocents, through the intervention of Fra Bartolommeo's friend, Prior Pagnini.

In 1509, Mariotto entered into partnership with Fra Bartolommeo, and worked as his chief assistant in the convent *bottega* during the next three years. As a rule, the Friar seems to have designed all the pictures which his friend painted during this period. Three of the best, a Madonna and Saints, Holy Trinity, and Annunciation, are in the Academy of Florence. All three bear the dates of 1510, and are executed in Fra Bartolommeo's style, but are not without a certain vigour and individuality

of their own. A Coronation of the Virgin, with two graceful cherubs, at Stuttgart, and two Virgin-Saints at Siena, also belong to this period. After the dissolution of the partnership between him and Fra Bartolommeo, Mariotto, in his first paroxysm of rage and disgust, vowed that he would never touch a brush again. For a little while he kept his resolution, married a wife named Antonia, whose father was the owner of a wine-shop, and himself opened a tavern near the Porta San Gallo. Here, at least, in this "*bellissima osteria*," Mariotto declared, he would lead a gay and joyous life, free from the cares of perspective and anatomy, and would hear his customers praising his good wine instead of blaming his bad drawing. But before many months were over, he grew tired of his new trade, and went back to his old calling.

In March, 1513, he painted a coat of arms adorned with figures of Faith, Hope and Charity, over the doors of the Medici Palace, in honour of Leo the Tenth's accession to the Papacy. A year later after Fra Bartolommeo's visit to Rome, he received an invitation to paint an altar-piece in the Dominican Convent of La Quercia at Viterbo, and went on to Rome, where Fra Mariano employed him to paint a Marriage of St. Katherine, in the Church of S. Silvestro. He returned to finish his work at La Quercia, but fell ill, and was brought back in a litter to Florence. Fra Bartolommeo hastened to his old friend's bedside as soon as he heard of his illness, and remained with him until he died, on the 5th of November, 1515. Albertinelli was buried in S. Piero Maggiore, and left one son, Biagio, who died

young. His best scholar was Giuliano Bugiardini, an artist (1475-1554) who began life in Ghirlandajo's studio, but early attached himself to Albertinelli, and executed several pictures from Fra Bartolommeo's designs. The Rape of Dinah, in the Vienna Gallery, is said by Vasari to have been painted from a cartoon by the Friar, but was only finished in 1531, fourteen years after Fra Bartolommeo's death. One of this master's most attractive works is a picture of the youthful Baptist drawing water from a stream in the desert, with a group of shepherds in the background, which still hangs over a side-altar of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan. He also copied some of Perugino's pictures, and, like most of his contemporaries, ultimately fell under the spell of Michelangelo, whom he had known in Ghirlandajo's workshop, and who is said to have designed his altar-piece of the Marriage of St. Katherine in Santa Maria Novella. During the siege of Florence, in 1529, he took shelter at Bologna, where he painted several of his best works, and, after the restoration of peace, returned to his native city and became one of Michelangelo's constant companions. Bugiardini died in 1554, and was buried in Santa Maria Novella.

Another pupil of Ghirlandajo, who also imitated Fra Bartolommeo, was Francesco Granacci (1477-1543). His Assumption, in the Academy of Florence, and Madonna of the Girdle, in the Uffizi, are executed in the Friar's style, while his earlier works, at Berlin, betray the influence of Michelangelo, whom he accompanied to Rome, and of whose property in Florence he took charge, when Buonarroti fled to Venice. In 1504, he was

one of the artists who met to decide on the site of Michelangelo's David, and he remained the great man's intimate friend to the end of his life. Like Piero di Cosimo, Granacci was early employed by the Medici to direct their Carnival pageants and festivities, and erected a splendid triumphal arch, adorned with allegorical paintings and chiaroscuro figures, on the occasion of Pope Leo the Tenth's visit to Florence in 1515. In 1523, he assisted Andrea del Sarto and his companions in the decoration of Margherita Borgherini's bridal chamber, and the panels on the story of Joseph which he painted on that occasion are preserved in the Uffizi, while another set of small subjects on the life of S. Apollonia and other saints are divided between the Munich Gallery and the Academy of Florence.

Granacci's best pupil was Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, who was so sickly a child at his birth, that his parents despaired of rearing him, and believed his recovery was solely due to the wax candles and votive gifts which they offered at the shrine of the Madonna delle Carcere in Prato, where the boy was brought up. He was only eleven when his father died, but made rapid progress under Granacci's teaching, and gave promise of an excellence to which he never attained. His early works, three panels of Angels, in the Academy of Florence, and a Nativity, at St. Petersburg, passed under Granacci's name until quite lately, while a Coronation, of 1504, in the Louvre, closely resembles Fra Bartolommeo's style and colouring, and both the Procession to Calvary, in the National Gallery, and the Marriage of St. Katherine, at La Quiete, bear marks of Leonardo's influence.

Among the best of his later works are the Miracles of St. Zenobius, in the Uffizi, and the graceful predella in the oratory of the Bigallo, containing a representation of the brothers of the Misericordia bearing a dead man to the grave, as well as several admirable portraits, which were formerly ascribed to Leonardo or Raphael. Ridolfo became an intimate friend of the last-named master, whom he met in Fra Bartolommeo's workshop, and who is said to have employed him to paint the blue drapery in his picture of "La Belle Jardinière." When Raphael went to Rome, he tried to induce his friend to accompany him, but Ridolfo declared that he loved his native city too well, and could not live out of sight of the Duomo. He married young, and his wife Contessina bore him no less than fifteen children, several of whom became merchants and settled in Ferrara, or went to France. This master was constantly employed by the Medici, to arrange the wedding festivities and funeral processions which had become so important a part of the artist's calling in these degenerate times. The decorations of the Pope's residence near S. Maria Novella and of the Medici Palace were entrusted to him at the visit of Leo X., and he lived to erect a triumphal arch for the entry of the Emperor Charles V., in 1336, and to superintend the rejoicings at the wedding of Duke Cosimo I. In these latter years he became court-painter and architect to the ducal house, and was honoured with the title of Master of the Cathedral. An immense number of assistants were always employed in his shop, and, in spite of his large family, he was one of the wealthiest and most prosperous artists of the

day. Ridolfo lived to be seventy-eight, and although a great sufferer from gout and other infirmities, retained his activity and cheerfulness to the last. Once, when the Duke was absent from home, he restored a painting in the palace in a single day, and told his friends he could go to bed happy, for he had given back youth to an old man, raised a dead being to life, and transformed a work of ugliness into a thing of beauty.

CHIEF WORKS—

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI:

Florence.—Accademia: 63. Trinity.
167. Madonna and Child with Saints.
169. Annunciation.
" *Pitti:* 365. Holy Family.
" *Uffizi:* 1259. Visitation and Predella.
" *Corsini Gallery:* 160. Holy Family.
Certosa di Val d'Ema: Fresco—Crucifixion.
Bergamo.—Lochis Gallery: 203. Crucifixion.
" *Morelli Collection:* 32. St. John and the Magdalene.
Milan.—Poldi-Pezzoli Museum: 477. Triptych.
Pisa.—S. Caterina: Madonna and Child with Saints.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 310. Madonna and Child with St. John. 421. Head of Christ.
Siena.—Gallery: 564. St. Katherine.
565. Magdalene.
Venice.—Seminario: 18. Madonna.
Volterra.—Duomo: Annunciation.
Geneva.—Museum: Annunciation.
The Hague.—Gallery: 306. Holy Family.
Munich.—Pinacothek: 1057. Annunciation.
Paris.—Louvre: 1114. Madonna and Child with Saints.
Stuttgart.—242-244. Coronation and Cherubs.
Cambridge.—Fitzwilliam Museum: 162. Madonna and Child with St. John.

GIULIANO BUGIARDINI:

Florence.—Pitti: 140. Portrait of Lady.
" *Uffizi:* 213. Madonna and Child.
" 3451. Madonna and Child with St. John.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

GIULIANO BUGIARDINI:

Florence.—S. Maria Novella: Martyrdom of St. Katherine.
Bologna.—Gallery: St. John Baptist.
Madonna and Child with Saints.
Madonna and Child.
Milan.—S. Maria delle Grazie: St. John Baptist.
Modena.—Gallery: 334. Madonna and Child with St. John.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 443. Madonna and Child with St. John.
,, *Colonna Gallery:* 136. Madonna and Child.
,, *Corsini Gallery:* 580. Madonna and Child.
Turin.—Gallery: 114. Madonna and Child with St. John.
,, *Museo Civico:* Madonna and Child with St. John.
Berlin.—Gallery: 142, 149. Story of Tobias.
263. Madonna and Child with Saints.
Vienna.—Gallery: 36. Rape of Dinah.
St. Petersburg.—Hermitage: 35. Holy Family.

FRANCESCO GRANACCI:

Florence.—Accademia: 68. Assumption.
285-290. Legend of S. Apollonia.
,, *Pitti:* 345. Holy Family.
,, *Uffizi:* 1249, 1282. Story of Joseph.
1280. Madonna della Cintola.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 371. Maddalena Strozzi as St. Katherine.
,, *Corsini Gallery:* 573. Hebe.
Berlin.—Gallery: 88. Madonna and Child with Saints.
,, ,, 97. Madonna and Child with Saints.
229. Trinity.
Munich.—Pinacothek. 1061-1064. Saints.
,, ,, 1065. Holy Family.
Oxford.—Christ Church: St. Francis.
,, *University Galleries:* 23. St. Anthony and Angel.
Panshanger: Portrait of Lady.
Warwick Castle: Assumption.
St. Petersburg.—Hermitage: 22. Nativity.

RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAJO:

Florence.—Accademia: 83, 87. Angels.
,, *Pitti:* 207. Portrait of a Goldsmith.
224. Portrait of Lady.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAJO:

Florence.—Uffizi: 1275, 1277. Miracles of S. Zanobi.
,, *Palazzio Vecchio:* Frescoes.
,, *Bigallo:* Predella.
,, *Corsini Gallery:* 129. Portrait.
,, *Palazzo Torrigiani:* Portrait.
,, *La Quiete:* Marriage of St. Katherine, St. Sebastian.
Pistoia.—St. Pietro: Madonna and Child with Saints.
Prata.—Duomo: Madonna della Cintola.
Berlin.—Gallery: 91. Nativity.
Buda Pesth.—Gallery: 58. Nativity.
London.—National Gallery: 1143. Procession to Calvary.
,, *Mr. Salting:* Portrait of Girolamo Benivieni.
Paris.—Louvre: 1324. Coronation.
St. Petersburg.—Hermitage: 22. Adoration of Christ by Virgin and Saints.
40. Portrait of Old Man (often ascribed to Raphael).

XXV

ANDREA DEL SARTO

1486–1531

ANDREA DEL SARTO stands in the foremost rank of Florentine painters of the sixteenth century, and, after Leonardo and Michelangelo left home, was the only master who rivalled Fra Bartolommeo in the excellence of his art and the greatness of his reputation. If he never attained the Dominican painter's depth and elevation of feeling, he excelled him in the beauty of his drawing and in the harmony and transparency of his colouring. The completeness of his technique won for him the name of Andrea *senza errori*, the faultless painter, and it is a sure proof of his genius that, at a time when Michelangelo and Leonardo reigned supreme, he should have succeeded in retaining his artistic personality. Unfortunately, he lacked the higher intellectual and spiritual gifts which are needful for the artist's full development, and, in spite of his consummate skill and unerring science, never attained the noble types and ideal beauty of the greatest masters. The natural timidity of his nature and weakness of his character may account in a measure for his comparative failure, and Vasari was convinced that

he made a fatal mistake in leaving France, and throwing away the opportunities of larger and more important works than he could find in Florence. But the high opinion which other masters had of his powers is shown by the famous words of Michelangelo, who had known Andrea in Florence, and who said one day to Raphael: "There is a little man in Florence who, were he ever employed on such great works as these, would bring out the sweat upon your brow."

Andrea d'Agnolo, as he generally signs himself, was the son of a tailor named Agnolo, who lived in the parish of Santa Maria Novella, and was born on the 16th of July, 1486, and baptised on the following day. At seven years old he was placed in a goldsmith's shop, but his talent for drawing soon attracted the notice of an inferior artist, named Barile, who taught him for three years and then recommended him to Piero di Cosimo. Under the influence of this master, who, Vasari tells us, was then held to be one of the best in Florence, Andrea made rapid progress, and amazed every one by the facility of his drawing and his skill in handling colours. Piero, we are told, had the greatest affection for his brilliant pupil and heard with indescribable delight that Andrea spent all his leisure hours in copying the cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo in the Pope's hall, and was already known as the cleverest of all the artists who met to study these masterpieces. But Piero's eccentricities at length forced Andrea to leave his house, and, when in 1508, he matriculated in the Painters' Guild, he opened a workshop on the Piazza del Grano, with another promising student, Francia-

bigio, who had lately left Albertinelli's *bottega*. The little panel of Christ appearing to the Magdalene, now in the Academy, is the earliest of Andrea's works that we have, and is mentioned by Vasari as having been painted for the Augustinian convent outside the Porta San Gallo. The bright tints and charming landscape of this youthful work recall Piero di Cosimo's style, and already display the peculiar softness and delicacy of colouring for which Andrea became noted. Soon he obtained a more important commission from Fra Mariano, the sacristan of the Servi brothers, who gladly availed himself of this opportunity to secure so promising an artist at small cost. At his suggestion, Andrea agreed to paint five frescoes on the life of S. Filippo Benizzi, in the court of the Annunziata, for the sum of ten florins a-piece. The decoration of this entrance-court had been commenced half a century before, by Alessio Baldovinetti, and was now completed by these clever young sixteenth-century painters. Andrea finished the five subjects from S. Filippo's life by the end of 1510, and was induced to paint two more frescoes, a Nativity and Adoration of the Magi, upon receiving a further payment of forty-eight florins.

These beautiful paintings, which the Servi brothers obtained for less than a hundred florins, were a marvellous production for a youth who was little over twenty, and remain Andrea's most charming and attractive works. They are full of brightness and animation, and, at the same time, display rare mastery of design and colour. The landscape in the fresco of the Gamblers Struck by Lightning, is remarkably fine and varied, while the dramatic action and skilful com-

position has caused the work to be compared with Titian's great picture of S. Pietro Martire. The last scene from the story of S. Filippo—Children Healed by the touch of the Saint, is especially lovely in colour, but the finest of the whole series is the Birth of the Virgin, which was not completed till 1514. Ghirlandajo's well-known fresco of the subject in Santa Maria Novella, was evidently fresh in the artist's mind when he painted this. The same motives of the Mother receiving visitors on her couch, and of the maid washing the Child in a basin by the fire are repeated, but there is more elegance in the women-forms, greater ease and variety in their movements, and far more charm in the whole composition. The Cupids on the mantelpiece, and the graceful arabesques on frieze and cornice are in the latest style of Renaissance decoration. The general impression of the work is of a singularly modern character. By this time, Andrea's talents had already attracted the notice of Ottaviano de' Medici, and in 1515, when Leo X. visited Florence, he was employed to construct a temporory façade for the Duomo, adorned with chiaroscuro statues and bas-reliefs, which excited general admiration, and was pronounced by the Pope to be as fine as marble. Meanwhile, both Andrea and his friend and assistant, Franciabigio, had taken up their residence in the Via della Sapienza, in a house afterwards used as stables by the Tuscan Grand Dukes, close to the Servi convent. It was a favourite abode with young artists, and Leonardo's friend, the sculptor Rustici, Jacopo Sansovino, and many other well-known masters, were already lodging there. Together they led a gay and joyous life, and

Vasari describes the wonderful masques and suppers held in the clubs which they formed among themselves. There was the famous Club of the Paiolo, or Cauldron, which met at Rustici's house, where dishes of the most elaborate kinds were provided by each of the twelve members, and Andrea, on one occasion, designed a temple in imitation of the Baptistery, with mosaics of jelly, columns of sausages, and choir and priests represented by birds and hooded pigeons. Another evening he recited a comic Greek poem, called the Battle of the Mice, and said to have been composed by Ottaviano de' Medici, who was himself a member of the Club, which excited great merriment among the company. No less popular were the meetings of the Society of the Trowel, where the members appeared in mason's clothes, and acted comedies and plays, for which Andrea painted the scenery. A great change had passed over Tuscan art and artists since the days when Cennino wrote his *Trattato*. The religious spirit which marked societies and guilds of painters in those early times had entirely disappeared, and the very character of the Florentines seemed to have changed. Few sixteenth-century masters approached art with the high seriousness of Leonardo or the deep devotion of Fra Bartolommeo.

But, at least, Andrea was not idle. Hardly had he finished the frescoes in the Court of the Annunziata, than he set to work on the chiaroscuro subjects from the life of the Baptist, in the cloisters of the Scalzi or Bare-footed brothers in the Via Larga. This series was to consist of twelve large frescoes, for which he was to receive 56 *lire*, and

four smaller figures of Virtues, for which he was to be paid 21 *lire*. Six of these were painted between 1514 and 1517, after which the series was interrupted and never finished until 1526. It is only within the last few years that the Scalzo cloister has been roofed in and glazed, but in spite of the damage which Andrea's frescoes have suffered from exposure to weather and ill-judged restoration, they reveal his wonderful powers in all their fulness. The figures are admirably drawn and modelled, the grouping and action are singularly fine, and the ornamental framework of the subject is remarkably decorative. Above all, the transparency of the shadows and the luminous tones of the monochrome produce an effect scarcely inferior to colour in richness and variety. The second subject of the Preaching of the Baptist, which the painter finished in 1515, is an especially striking composition, in which the earnest and impassioned gestures of the Saint, and the eager faces of his listeners are given with dramatic force. Several of the figures in this and the other frescoes are, as Vasari remarks, borrowed from Albert Dürer's engraving, and bear witness to the popularity which the Nürnberg masters were fast gaining in Italy. But, even in the early subjects, we see that fatal tendency to overload the figures with draperies, which Andrea adopted in imitation of Michelangelo, and which grew upon him with the lapse of years, until it completely destroyed the charm of his art.

This unfortunate practice is still more apparent in the later frescoes of the Scalzo, as well as in the lunette of the Madonna del Sacco, which Andrea

painted in 1525, over a doorway in the cloisters of the Servi convent. Here the grace of the composition and lovely harmonies of colour are sadly marred by the voluminous folds of draperies which smother the Virgin's form, and which seem to be introduced solely in order to display the painter's skill in the arrangement of the folds. Besides the fine panel of the Head of Christ which still hangs in the Madonna's Chapel of the Annunziata, Andrea painted a Dead Christ, now in the Academy, on a staircase of the convent, in return, it is said, for a bundle of votive candles. This, however, was early in his career, about 1512, when he also executed two chiaroscuro frescoes on the Parable of the Husbandmen in the Vineyard, in the friar's kitchen garden. But the wall on which these subjects were painted, fell in, early in the last century, so that we can only form some idea of these vigorous and animated compositions from old engravings and a series of studies by Lucas van Leyden, which are preserved in the Corsini Gallery.

Several of Andrea's best easel pictures also belong to this period of his life. The earliest, and one of the finest, is the Annunciation, which he painted in 1512, for his old patrons the Augustinians of the convent outside the Porta San Gallo. In the timid action of the shrinking Virgin, turning away with hand uplifted in fear and wonder, we have a motive which the artist often repeated, while the splendid Renaissance portico in the background lends the subject a new and modern character. The Dispute on the Trinity, an altar-piece executed six years later for the same friars, and like the former picture now in the Pitti, is another masterpiece of faultless drawing and glowing colour. Here

MADONNA AND CHILD (UFFIZI)—ANDREA DEL SARTO.

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three saints, Laurence, Francis, and Peter Martyr listen intently to the eloquent words in which the venerable Father, St. Augustine, descants on the divine mystery, and Sebastian and Magdalene kneel at their feet. This work marks the culminating point of Andrea's art, and like the famous Madonna delle Arpie, was painted before his memorable journey to France. This last-named picture, which takes its name from the reliefs of harpies carved on the pedestal of the Virgin's throne, was originally executed for a Franciscan convent in the Via Pentolini, and is now among the chief ornaments of the Tribune of the Uffizi. It was painted early in 1517, a few months after the artist's marriage to the beautiful widow, Lucrezia del Fede, whose features we recognise in the Virgin's face. A striped cloth rests on her brown hair and a yellow shawl is folded round her shoulders. The laughing Child clings lovingly to his Mother's neck, and two fair boy-angels play with the skirts of her blue robe. At the foot of the throne St. Francis stands with a crucifix in his hand, and a youthful St. John is seen in the act of writing his Gospel. Andrea never excelled this composition which, in simple grace and majesty, is unique among his works, and belongs to the happiest moment of his life.

The story of Andrea's marriage is familiar to us in the pages of Vasari, who was at one time the artist's pupil, and who in his hatred of his master's wife has painted her in the blackest colours. But although his language may be exaggerated, the main facts of the case are probably true, and have never been refuted. This handsome woman whose face recurs in almost

every Virgin and Saint of Andrea's pictures, who sat to him for the youthful king in the fresco of the Magi, and appears again as one of the chief figures in the Birth of the Virgin, whom we see by turn as the Madonna on her throne, as the kneeling Magdalene of the Disputa, or the Charity of the Scalzo, was the wife of Carlo di Recanati, a hatter in the Via S. Gallo. Andrea was fascinated by her charms in the early days when he painted his first frescoes in the Annunziata, and after the death of her husband on the 17th of September, 1516, took her for his wife. But the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire brought him little peace. Lucrezia's violent and overbearing temper drove away his favourite scholar, Pontormo, who was alive when Vasari wrote, and several of his best apprentices, while her vanity excited his jealousy and her extravagance involved him in constant difficulties. He soon found that he had not only his wife, but her father and sisters, to keep, and in order to provide for their needs, was compelled to lead a life of incessant toil, and to neglect his own parents, who, if we are to believe Vasari's tale, died in miserable poverty. It is certain, however, that Lucrezia herself possessed some fortune, and before Andrea went to France he gave her father a receipt for her dowry of 150 florins, and deposited a sum of money for her benefit in the bank of S. Maria Nuova.

In May, 1518, he accepted a pressing invitation from the French king, who had been greatly impressed by two of his works, the Holy Family of the Louvre and a Pietà, now at Vienna, which had been sent to France by Giovanni Battista della Palla. Andrea found a generous patron in Francis I.,

for whom he painted the well-known group of Charity and her Children, and a portrait of the infant Dauphin, for which he received 300 gold crowns.

But while the master was enjoying the change from the narrowness and poverty of his Florentine life to the splendour of the French court, his wife became impatient for his return — "being more anxious," remarks Vasari, "to profit by his gains than to see him again." Her entreaties touched his heart so deeply, that he obtained leave from the king for two months, early in 1519, to go to Florence, and bring back his wife. But once at home again, Andrea forgot his promises in the joy of Lucrezia's company. He lavished presents upon his wife and her sisters, and spent the money which Francis I. had given him to purchase works of art for his palace at Fontainebleau, in buying a plot of land and building a house near the Annunziata. Whether Vasari's story is true or not, it is certain that Andrea never returned to France, and threw away the prospect of a great and honourable career in that country. But he found plenty of employment in Florence, where, now that Fra Bartolommeo was dead, he had no one left to be his rival. He soon resumed his work at the Scalzo cloister, and designed the beautiful Charity, in which he repeated his former composition in the Louvre, and once more painted Lucrezia's portrait. In 1521, his old friend Ottaviano de' Medici, employed him to decorate Leo the Tenth's villa at Poggio a Caiano, where his fresco of envoys in Florentine costume bringing a motley collection of giraffes, parrots, and monkeys as tribute to Cæsar,

may still be seen in the great hall. This bright and animated, but curiously modern composition, was left unfinished, owing to the Pope's death, and only completed sixty years later by the painter Allori. Andrea then returned to his work in the Scalzo cloisters, and continued the series at intervals, until it was completed in 1526.

In 1523, Andrea was one of the masters employed by Piero Francesco Borgherini to decorate the furniture of a chamber in his palace in the Borgo Apostoli, for the marriage of his son Francesco with Margherita Acciaiuoli. The two panels of the story of Joseph which formed Andrea's share in the work, are painted with his usual care and skill, and their rich colour and fine atmosphere produce a highly decorative effect. Granacci, Bacchiacca, and Andrea's own pupil Pontormo were associated with him in this task, and by their care the richly-carved bedstead, chests, and arm-chairs of walnut were all adorned with paintings of the same story. During the siege of Florence in 1529, Francis the First's agent, Giovanni Battista della Palla, obtained leave from the Signoria to strip the beautiful chamber of its treasures, and send them to his master. But when he entered the Borgherini Palace, Margherita herself met him on the threshold and bade him begone, telling him that the furniture he wished to carry off had been ordered by her husband's father for her wedding, and that rather than part from a single stick, she would shed the last drop of her blood. The terrified agent retired in dismay, and was soon afterwards thrown into prison and put to death as a traitor. "Thus," writes Vasari, "did this brave woman, by her heroic courage and firmness, keep these treasures of

art to adorn her home, and show herself to be a worthy daughter of this noble and ancient race."

In 1524, a sudden outbreak of the plague drove Andrea and his family to take refuge in the convent of S. Piero in Val Mugello, where the abbess and nuns entertained him hospitably, and he painted the well-known Deposition in the Pitti, as well as two smaller pictures which have disappeared. The admirable sketch of the Dead Christ in red chalk is in the Louvre, while a study of the Magdalene's head is in the Uffizi collection. But masterly as is the drawing and delicate the colour of this fine work, it falls far short of Perugino or Fra Bartolommeo's Depositions in depth and tenderness of feeling. We are conscious of the same lack of elevation and pathos in the Last Supper, which Andrea painted in the refectory of the Vallombrosan monks at the convent of S. Salvi, outside the Porta della Croce. The commission for this fresco had been given to the painter in June, 1519, immediately after his return from France, but the work was only completed seven years later. Andrea bestowed infinite pains on this fresco, "painting," Vasari tells us, "but little at a time, as he felt inclined, and making every part as perfect as he could." If he failed to give the subject Leonardo's ideal grandeur and solemnity, and his Last Supper cannot compare with the Cenacolo at Milan, he has at least succeeded in producing a more pleasing and beautiful representation of the scene than any other Tuscan master. It is said that during the siege of Florence, when the invading army destroyed all the convents and hospitals without the walls, a troop of soldiers pulled down the bell-tower of S. Salvi, and were

about to attack the convent, but when they entered the refectory they paused awe-struck before Andrea's painting, and retired without doing any further damage.

As years went by, Andrea's style became more and more artificial. He repeated his old compositions, and painted one picture after another with the same marvellous facility, in the same mannered style. In the Virgin-Saints at Pisa, in the Assumptions and Holy Family of the Pitti, we see the same heavy masses of draperies, the same fair women with soulless faces and insipid expression. Even his drawing became academic and conventional, and his once soft and brilliant colouring gave place to monotonous greyness. Here and there we find a touch of the old grace, as, for instance, in the fascinating babies from the large altar-piece which he painted, in 1528, for the hermitage on the heights of Vallombrosa, or the delightful children wearing the white hoods of the S. Jacopo's Penitents on the processional banner of the Confraternity in the Uffizi.

One phase of art in which Andrea del Sarto excelled was that of portrait-painting. The refined and thoughtful head of the Sculptor in the National Gallery is an excellent example of his direct and simple interpretation of character, while in the successive portraits of himself and his wife he has left us a pathetic record of his own history. Again and again he has painted this beautiful Lucrezia whom he loved too well for his own happiness. In the Uffizi picture we see her clad in a blue robe, holding an open volume of Petrarch's Sonnets in her hand; in the later portrait at Berlin she wears a more matronly

air in her striped bodice with yellow sleeves, with the white handkerchief folded over the thick coils of chestnut hair. And he has painted himself too, from the early days when he was a graceful youth with dark eyes, sensitive lips, and long brown curls, down to the last year of his life, when he had grown stout and middle-aged, and the coarsened features and listless expression tell a melancholy tale of deterioration of character. A wonderful example of his technical skill is still to be seen in the copy of Raphael's great portrait of Leo X. and his Cardinals, which he painted, in 1524, for Ottaviano de' Medici. Pope Clement VII. had desired his kinsman to send this famous Raphael, which hung over a doorway of the Medici palace, as a present to the Duke of Mantua, upon which Ottaviano, unwilling to part from so great a treasure, employed Andrea to copy the picture, and sent his work to Mantua in the place of the original. So admirable was Andrea's copy, that even Giulio Romano, who had himself helped Raphael in painting the Pope's portrait, was completely deceived, until Vasari showed him Andrea's monogram with the interlaced initials on the edge of the panel.

In spite, however, of his untiring industry, and of the great reputation which he enjoyed in Florence, Andrea del Sarto never attained the position to which his rare talents entitled him. During the siege of Florence he suffered many privations, and was glad to accept a commission from the Signory to paint the effigies of some rebels who had been hung as traitors on the walls of the Podestà palace. But being ashamed of the task, and fearing that he might

acquire the name of "Andrea of the Gallows," which had been applied of old to Andrea del Castagno, he announced that one of his apprentices would fulfil the order, which he really executed himself, going backwards and forwards by night, and hiding behind a hoarding when he was at work.

All through his later years, Vasari tells us, the painter never ceased to look back with regret at the time which he had spent in France, and made more than one effort to recover the favour of King Francis. The picture of the youthful Baptist, in the Pitti, was intended to be sent as a gift to propitiate that monarch, but was eventually bought by Ottaviano de' Medici. In 1529, however, Giovanni Battista della Palla once more commissioned Andrea to paint a picture for his master. This time the artist, anxious to recover his old patron's good graces, exerted himself to the utmost, and produced his Sacrifice of Isaac, a picture far finer in design and expression than any work of his later years. But the siege intervened, Giovanni Battista della Palla died in prison, and the picture was never sent to France. After Andrea's death it was sold by his widow to Filippo Strozzi, and, after changing hands repeatedly, was placed in the Tribune of the Uffizi, in 1633. Seven years afterwards it was exchanged for Correggio's Riposo, and passed with the chief treasures of the Duke of Modena's collection into the Dresden gallery. The smaller *replica* of the picture at Madrid was painted for Paolo di Terrarossa, who, filled with admiration for the original design which he saw in Andrea's studio, anxiously inquired the price of a small copy, and gladly gave the artist the trifling

sum for which he asked—"*una miseria*," as Vasari says!

When Florence was taken by the Spaniards, the plague broke out in many parts of the city, and Andrea del Sarto was one of its first victims. He breathed his last on the 22nd of January, 1531, at the age of forty-five, deserted even by his wife, who fled in terror from the house and left him to die alone. Yet his devotion to her had never altered, and in a will which he made four years before his death, he left all his property to his dear wife, "*la mia diletta domina*," and even remembered his step-daughter Maria. Lucrezia survived her husband forty years, and died in January, 1571. One day in the winter of 1570, when the artist Jacopo da Empoli was copying Andrea del Sarto's Birth of the Virgin in the court of the Annunziata, an old woman of eighty stopped to speak to him on her way to mass, and pointing to the figure of the handsome young matron in the picture, told him that this was her portrait, and that she herself was Lucrezia del Fede, the widow of the artist who painted the fresco. She had vexed him in his life-time and abandoned him on his death-bed, but it was still her greatest pride to remember that she had been the wife of the famous master—"*Andrea senza errori.*"

CHIEF WORKS:—

Florence.—Accademia: 61. Two Child-Angels.
75. Fresco—Dead Christ.
76. Four Saints.
77. Predella. Legends of Saints.

,, *Pitti*: 58. Deposition.
66. Portrait of the Painter.
81. Holy Family.
87. Joseph's Dream.
88. Joseph in Egypt.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

Florence.—Pitti: 124. Annunciation.
172. Dispute on the Trinity.
184. Portrait of the Painter.
191. Assumption.
225. Assumption.
272. The Baptist.

" *Uffizi:* 93. Noli me Tangere.
188. Portrait of Lucrezia.
280. Portrait of the Painter.
1112. Madonna delle Arpie.
1176. Portrait of the Painter.
1230. Portrait of Lady.
1254. St. James with Two Children.

" *Chiostro dello Scalzo:* Frescoes—Eight Scenes from the Life of St. John Baptist. Four Virtues.

" *S. S. Annunziata, Court:* Frescoes—Five Scenes from the Life of S. Filippo Benizzi, Adoration of Magi, Birth of the Virgin. *Chapel:* Head of Christ. *Cloisters:* Fresco—Madonna del Sacco.

" *S. Salvi, Refectory:* Fresco—Last Supper.

Poggio a Caiano: Fresco—Cæsar receiving Tribute.

Berlin.—Gallery: 240. Portrait of Lucrezia.
246. Madonna and Child with Saints.

Dresden.—Gallery: 76. Marriage of St. Katherine.
77. Sacrifice of Isaac.

London.—National Gallery: 690. Portrait of a Sculptor.

" *Hertford House:* Madonna and Child with Angels.

Madrid.—Gallery: 383. Portrait of Lucrezia.
385. Holy Family.
387. Sacrifice of Isaac.

Paris.—Louvre: 1514. Charity.
1515. Holy Family.

Vienna.—Gallery: 39. Pietà. 42. Tobias.

Rome.—Borghese Villa: 336. Madonna and Child with St. John.

St Petersburg.—24. Holy Family.

XXVI

FRANCIABIGIO

1482-1525

FRANCESCO DI' CRISTOFORO, commonly called by his surname of *Francia bigio*, was the son of a Milanese weaver living in Florence, where he was born in 1482. He studied painting under Albertinelli, but early attached himself to Andrea del Sarto, whom he first met in the Pope's hall, copying the cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo, and whose friend and assistant he became. In 1513, he painted the fresco of the Marriage of the Virgin, in the court of the Annunziata, but was so indignant with the Servi brothers for uncovering the work before it was finished, that he gave the head of the Virgin a blow with a hammer, and if the friars had not rushed up and seized his hands, would have destroyed the whole painting. Traces of the damage wrought by the angry master's hammer are still to be seen in this fresco, which, with its bright colouring and graceful forms, is not unworthy of the place which it occupies among Andrea's works. When Andrea went to France, Franciabigio was invited to continue his series in the cloisters of the Scalzo, and painted

two subjects, the Baptist taking leave of his parents, and his meeting with Christ in the desert. Both in these frescoes and in his easel-pictures, this artist imitates Andrea's manner closely, and follows his practice of borrowing figures from Albert Dürer's engravings. This is especially the case in an early panel, intended for the front of a *cassone*, now in the Uffizi, in which Hercules is represented standing on a pedestal under a portico, and groups of soldiers and scholars are introduced.

Like his more illustrious friend, Franciabigio was an admirable portrait-painter, and several of his male heads have at different times been ascribed to Andrea and even to Raphael. A young knight of Malta, by his hand, is in the National Gallery, and a portrait of Pier Francesco de' Medici's steward may be seen at Windsor Castle, while several other good examples are in other private collections in England. Franciabigio assisted Ridolfo Ghirlandajo to design triumphal cars and arches for the wedding of Duke Lorenzo, in 1518, and painted a fresco of the Triumph of Cicero at Pope Leo's villa of Poggio a Caiano. In 1523, he finished another *cassone* picture on the story of David and Bathsheba, which is now at Dresden, and died in the following year, at the age of forty-two. Vasari describes him as a very gentle and amiable man, who took warning from his friend Andrea's experiences, and always refused to marry, saying that a wife only brings sorrow and anxieties. According to the old saying, "*Chi ha moglie, ha pene e doglie.*"

One of Franciabigio's best pupils was Francesco Ubertini, surnamed Bacchiacca, who began by learning

of Perugino, when he was in Florence, but soon joined Franciabigio, and followed in the steps of Andrea del Sarto, whose smooth colouring and grey flesh-tones he adopted. He painted many *predelle* and *cassoni*, and six panels with different scenes from the story of Joseph, which were his share towards the decoration of the Borgherini chamber, are now in the Borghese Villa in Rome, while two others are in the National Gallery. Among his other works are an Adam and Eve in Signor Frizzoni's possession at Milan, a large Madonna in Sir Francis Cook's collection, and a small panel of Moses striking the Rock, containing no less than forty figures, and birds and beasts of every description, in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice. Bacchiacca was frequently employed by the Medici princes to adorn triumphal arches and decorate halls on festive occasions, and after Franciabigio's death, paid a visit to Rome, where he became intimate with Giulio Romano and Benvenuto Cellini, who mentions him in his autobiography.

Two other artists were employed in the Annunziata with Andrea del Sarto. One of these was Giovanbattista, known as *il Rosso*, who afterwards entered the service of Francis I., and went to France, where he was called *le Maitre Roux*, and died in 1541. He painted a fresco of the Assumption in the court of the Servite church, but is better known by his graceful little panel of the rival songs of the Muses and Pierides on Parnassus, in the Louvre. The other master employed by the Servi friars was Jacopo Carrucci, commonly known as Pontormo, from his native village near Empoli, who remained during many years the favourite scholar

and assistant of Andrea. His fresco of the Visitation in the Annunziata court (1516) comes nearer to Andrea's work in grace and technical skill than any other of the series, while his lunette of Diana and Pomona in the villa at Poggio a Caiano, is both gay in colour and charming in fancy. He was among the artists employed on the nuptial chamber of the Borgherini Palace, and two panels of the story of Joseph, which he executed there, are at Panshanger, while a third is in the National Gallery. His portraits of the Medici princes, at Florence, his Gem-Cutter, in the Louvre, his bust of Andrea del Sarto, at Berlin, and his Florentine Lady, at Frankfort, are dignified and attractive works, marked by a refinement and penetration which make us regret that he ever attempted more ambitious subjects. Unfortunately, this graceful and imaginative artist was carried away by his admiration for Michelangelo, and wasted time and powers in futile endeavours to rival that master's colossal nudes. His Venus and Cupid, in the Uffizi, his Holy Family, of 1543, in the Louvre, his Martyrdom of Forty Saints, in the Pitti, only show the folly of his ambition and the impotence of his efforts. He died in 1556, conscious of his failure to realise his ideal, and disappointed in his hopes of fame, and was buried, by his last wish, in the court of the Annunziata, under the Visitation, which he felt in the end was his best work.

Pontormo's merits and defects were shared by his favourite scholar, Angelo di Cosimo, surnamed Bronzino, who was also the intimate friend of Vasari. Bronzino's weakness is apparent when he tries to

paint imaginative works, and vies with Michelangelo in designing nudes on a large scale. His Allegory, in the National Gallery, and his Christ in Hades, are tasteless conceptions, devoid alike of spiritual meaning and beauty. But many of his portraits are admirable works of art. Few later masters have surpassed his courtly representations of Eleonora of Toledo, and Lucrezia Panciatichi, of Duke Cosimo and Don Ferdinand, at Florence, or the full length portrait of the handsome boy in red and black, which long went by the name of Pontormo, in the National Gallery.

CHIEF WORKS—

FRANCIABIGIO:

Florence.—Pitti: 43. Portrait of Man.
427. Allegory of Calumny.
,, *Uffizi:* 92. Madonna and Child with St. John.
1223. Temple of Hercules.
1224. Holy Family.
1264. Madonna and Child with Saints.
,, *Annunziata, Court:* Fresco—Marriage of the Virgin.
Chiostro dello Scalzo: Frescoes—The life of St. John Baptist.
,, *La Calza:* Fresco—Last Supper.
,, *Poggio a Caiano:* Fresco—Triumph of Cæsar.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 177. Marriage of St. Katherine.
,, 458. Holy Family.
,, *Corsini Gallery:* 570. Madonna and Child.
Turin.—Gallery: 112. Annunciation.
Berlin.—Gallery: 235, 245, 245A. Portraits.
Dresden.—Gallery: 75. Story of Bathsheba.
London.—National Gallery: 1035. Portrait of Knight of Malta.
,, *Mr. Benson:* Portrait of an Artist.
,, *Earl of Northbrook:* Portrait of Youth.
,, *Earl of Yarborough:* Portrait of a Jeweller.
,, *Windsor Castle:* Portrait of Youth.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

FRANCIABIGIO:

Vienna.—Gallery: 46. Holy Family.
,, *Lichtenstein Gallery:* Portrait of Youth.

ROSSO:

Florence.—Pitti: 113. Three Fates.
237. Madonna and Child with Saints.
,, *Uffizi:* 1241. Angel playing Guitar.
,, *Bargello:* Fresco—Justice.
Annunziata, Court: Fresco—Assumption.
,, *S. Lorenzo:* Marriage of Virgin.
Siena—Gallery. Sala XI.: 19. Portrait of Youth.
Venice.—Accademia: 46. Portrait of Man.
Paris.—Louvre: 1485. Pietà.
,, 1486. The Muses and Pierides.

BACCHIACCA:

Florence.—Pitti: 102. The Magdalene.
,, *Uffizi:* 87. Deposition.
Bergamo.—Morelli Gallery: 62. Death of Abel.
Milan.—Signor Crespi: Adoration of Magi.
,, *Signor Frizzoni:* Adam and Eve.
Rome.—Borghese Villa: 425-463. Story of Joseph.
338. Madonna and Child.
Venice.—Seminario: 23. Madonna and Child.
,, *Palazzo Giovanelli:* Moses striking the Rock.
Berlin.—Gallery: 267. Baptism.
Dresden.—Gallery 80. Legend of Saint.
London.—National Gallery: 1218, 1219. Story of Joseph.
1304. Marcus Curtius.
,, *Mr. Butler:* Portrait of Youth.
Oxford.—Christ Church: 55. Noli me Tangere.
57. Resurrection of Lazarus.
Munich.—Pinacothek: 1077. Madonna and Child with St. John.

PONTORMO:

Florence.—Accademia: 183. Pietà.
190. Christ at Emmaus.
Pitti. 149. Portrait of Ippolito de' Medici.
182. Martyrdom of Forty Saints.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

PONTORMO:

Florence.—Pitti: 233. St. Anthony.
249. Portrait of Man.
379. Adoration of Magi.
„ *Uffizi:* 1177. Madonna and Child with Saints.
1187. Martyrdom of S. Maurizio.
1198. Birth of St. John Baptist.
1220. Portrait of Man.
1267. Cosimo de' Medici.
1270. Cosimo I., Duke of Florence.
„ *San Marco: Room* 38. Portrait of Cosimo de Medici.
„ *Annunziata, Court:* Fresco—Visitation.
„ *Chapel of St. Luke:* Madonna and Child with Saints.
„ *S. Felicità:* Deposition, Annunciation.
„ *Corsini Gallery:* 141, 185. Holy Family.
„ *Certosa di Val d'Ema:* Fresco—Christ before Pilate.
„ *Poggio a Caiano:* Fresco—Diana, Pomona, and others.
Bergamo.—Morelli Gallery: 59. Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli.
Rome.—Barberini Palace: 83. Pygmalion and Galatea.
„ *Borghese Villa:* 173. Tobias.
408. Portrait of a Cardinal.
„ *Corsini Gallery:* 577. Portrait of Man.
Turin.—Gallery: 122. Portrait of Lady.
Berlin.—Gallery · 239. Portrait of Andrea del Sarto.
„ *Frankfort Gallery:* 14A. Portrait of Lady with Dog.
Genoa.—Palazzo Brignole-Sala: Portrait of Youth.
London.—National Gallery: 1131. Joseph in Egypt.
„ *Mr. Mond:* A Conversation.
„ *Panshanger*. Story of Joseph.
„ Portrait of Youth.
Paris.—Louvre: 1240. Holy Family.
1241. Portrait of Gem-Engraver.

BRONZINO:

Florence.—Pitti: 39. Holy Family.
403. Portrait of Cosimo I.

CHIEF WORKS (*continued*)—

BRONZINO:

Florence.—Uffizi: 154. Portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi.
158. Descent from Cross.
159. Portrait of Bartolommeo Panciatichi.
172. Portraits of Eleanora da Toledo and Don Garzia.
198. Portrait of Lady.
1155. Portrait of Don Garzia.
1164 and 1273. Portraits of Maria de' Medici.
1166. Man in Armour.
1209. Dead Christ.
1211. Allegory of Happiness.
1266. Portrait of Sculptor.
1271. Christ in Hades.
1272. Portrait of Ferdinand de' Medici.

Bergamo.—Morelli Gallery: 65. Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici.

Milan.—Brera: 565. Portrait of Andrea Doria.

Rome.—Borghese Villa: 444. St. John Baptist.

,, *Colonna Palace:* Venus, Holy Family.

,, *Corsini Palace:* Portrait of Stefano Colonna.

,, *Doria Palace:* Portrait of a Doria Prince.

Berlin.—Gallery: 338, 338A. Portraits of the Medici Family.

London.—National Gallery: 649. Portrait of Boy.
651. Allegory.
1523. Portrait of Piero de' Medici.

Oxford.—University Galleries: 30. Portrait of Don Garzia.

Paris.—Louvre: 1183. Noli me Tangere.
1184. Portrait of Sculptor.

Vienna.—Gallery: 49. Holy Family.
44. Portrait of Man in Fur Coat.

Turin. — Gallery: 128. Portrait of Giovanni delle Band Nere.

XXVII

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

1475–1564

THE last great Florentine master of the Renaissance was Michelangelo. His mighty personality towers like some Titan of old above his contemporaries, and the grandeur of his genius imposes itself upon the whole of the sixteenth century. His long life extends over a memorable period in the history of Florence. He grew up in the days of her brightest prosperity, when the State was feared and respected, and all the arts flourished under the rule of the Magnificent Lorenzo, and after witnessing Savonarola's revival, and the successive revolutions of the next thirty years, he lived to mourn over the downfall of his country and the final loss of her liberties.

The works of Michelangelo represent the culminating point of the art of the Italian Renaissance. They are the fruit of three centuries of continual effort and research, of classical learning and direct study of nature. In them the problems of form and movement which had occupied Florentine masters since the days of Giotto, find their highest development The influence of pagan art and the teaching of

Platonist scholars formed the great master's ideas and moulded his genius, but he clung to the faith of past ages with unshaken trust, and inherited the creed of Dante and the Christian sentiment of early Tuscan sculptors. So, while he became the creator of a new and original style, he held fast to the old traditions, and in his art we find the seriousness and devotion of the Middle Ages, widened and deepened by the knowledge of Plato. "Because the beauty of the world is fragile and deceitful," he writes, "I seek to attain the eternal and universal Beauty." Early in life the study of the antiques in the Medici Palace inspired him with a profound sense of the beauty and wonder of the human form, and he realised what such artists as Antonio Pollaiuolo and Luca Signorelli had dimly felt before, that the most complete rendering of life and movement can only be attained by means of the nude. While Leonardo loved Nature in all its varied forms, and lingered tenderly over the smallest details of rock and flower, Michelangelo's thoughts were wholly centred on the study of man. "God," as he says in one of his sonnets, "has nowhere revealed Himself more fully than in the sublime beauty of the human form." From the first, the great master saw and understood the full significance of the body, its value for decorative purposes, and as a means of expressing spiritual and intellectual thought. Again, while Leonardo's art owes its serenity and repose to his clear and lucid intellect, Michelangelo's creations all bear the stamp of his restless and struggling nature. The most subjective of artists, every picture he painted and every statue he carved tell the secrets of his deep thinking, passion-

ately-striving, much-suffering soul. No artist felt the joy and glory of life more keenly, no one was more oppressed with a sense of its weariness and misery. His own life was one long tragedy of broken hopes and frustrated purposes. But from boyhood to old age his mighty powers were devoted with unswerving constancy to the service of art, and in spite of hindrances and disappointments he fulfilled the end of life, and revealed himself in a series of great and heroic conceptions.

Like Leonardo, Michelangelo was a many-sided genius, and three supreme conceptions—the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, the Medici tombs, and the Dome of St. Peter—remain to prove his skill as architect, sculptor, and painter. But, unlike his great rival, sculpture and not painting was the form in which he preferred to express his thoughts. Painting, as he told Pope Julius II., was not his trade, and in all his letters from Rome, he signed himself "Michelangelo, *scultore*," as if to emphasise this statement. "Let the whole world know I am not a painter," are the words with which he ends one of his sonnets, in which the same conviction is expressed. His paintings tell the same story. All their finest qualities, their masterly design, vigorous modelling, and admirable relief, betray the sculptor's hand, and show the same passion for plastic beauty. In later years his enthusiasm for science and marvellous knowledge of anatomy led him to crowd his frescoes with exaggerated gestures and distorted attitudes. He neglected beauty for strength, and allowed force to degenerate into brutality. But in spite of these obvious defects,

and of the baneful influence which his example exerted on contemporary art, Michelangelo has left the world a vision of radiant and glorious humanity which, alone among the creations of modern times, is worthy to rank with the immortal works of Greek sculpture.

On the 6th of March, 1475, Michelangelo Buonarroti was born at the castle of Caprese, in the mountains above Arezzo, between the valleys of the Arno and the Tiber, close to St. Francis's favourite sanctuary of La Vernia, which Dante describes as "Quel crudo sasso intra Tevere ed Arno." His father, Lodovico, belonged to a good old Florentine family which claimed descent from the Count of Canossa, and held the honourable office of Podestà of Caprese at the time of his son's birth. When his term of office expired, he returned to Florence with his young wife, Francesca, and his infant son was left to be nursed in the family of a stone-cutter of Settignano. "Giorgio," the great master once said to Vasari, "if there is anything good in me, it comes from the pure air of your Arezzo hills where I was born, and perhaps also from the milk of my nurse with which I sucked in the chisels and hammers with which I used to carve my figures."

As soon as he was old enough to leave his nurse the boy was sent to school in Florence, but showed little taste for learning and spent his time in drawing. In vain his father, who looked on painting as an inferior profession, punished him for neglecting his studies. One day, Francesco Granacci, a young apprentice in Ghirlandajo's shop, with whom he had made friends, showed his master a drawing which the

boy had made in imitation of a print by Schöngauer, of St. Anthony surrounded by beasts and fishes, carefully copied from those which he saw in the market. The painter, seeing the boy's evident talent for drawing, offered to take him into his shop, and on the 1st of April, 1488, Michelangelo was apprenticed to Ghirlandajo for a period of three years. His powers of draughtmanship were the surprise and envy of his comrades, and one day when he made a sketch of his master and his assistants at work on the scaffolding in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, Ghirlandajo exclaimed—"The boy knows more than I do!" Even then his irritable temper and sharp speeches often excited the wrath of his companions, and one day when the young artists were copying Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, Piero Torrigiano struck him a blow on the nose, and, as he told Cellini, left a mark which the great master carried with him to the grave. But Michelangelo did not remain long in Ghirlandajo's shop. In 1489, when he and Granacci were drawing antiques in the Medici gardens, Lorenzo saw the boy copying a marble Faun, and was so much struck at the skill with which he knocked a tooth out of the upper jaw of the head, to make it appear older, that he took him into his own household. For the next two years Michelangelo lived in the palace of Via Larga, dining at the same table as the Magnifico's children, and treated as one of the family. There he met the best painters and foremost scholars of the day, and saw the finest art of past and present times—the paintings of Pollaiuolo and Botticelli, and the gems and intaglios of Lorenzo's collec-

tion. He was one of the joyous company who met on summer evenings in the Piazza where Pulci recited his verses, or Tuscan maidens sang Lorenzo's songs. And he accompanied Poliziano and Pico to hear Savonarola's sermons, and was as deeply moved as they were by the Frate's fiery eloquence. His own brother Leonardo joined the Dominican Order, and became a friar of San Marco, where he died in 1510. Michelangelo himself, writing from Rome in 1497, thanks another of his brothers for telling him of the acts of the saintly Fra Girolamo, of whom all Rome is talking. Here, indeed, he adds, people call him a pestilent heretic, but only let him come and preach in Rome, and they will canonise him ere long! Years afterwards we find Michelangelo still counting himself among his followers, and saying that he must employ a certain artist, or his friends, the *piagnoni*, will never forgive him. During his residence in the Medici Palace the young artist carved a bas-relief of the Battle of the Centaurs, at Polizianc's suggestion, on a block of marble given him by Lorenzo, who praised his work warmly, and presented him with a violet mantle and a monthly allowance of five florins. This fine composition which has all the fire and originality of youthful genius, was kept by Michelangelo to his dying day, and is still in the Casa Buonarroti, together with an early Madonna in Donatello's style. But these happy days ended all too soon.

In April, 1492, Lorenzo de' Medici died at Careggi, and Michelangelo, deprived of his powerful patron, returned to his father's house, and devoted himself to the study of anatomy. The Prior of S. Spirito

allowed him to dissect dead bodies in a room of his convent, and in return for his kindness, Michelangelo carved a life-size crucifix in wood for his chapel. Before long, however, Lorenzo's son, Piero, sent for the sculptor one winter's day, to model a colossal snow-man, and he once more took up his abode in his old quarters. Little as Piero resembled his father, he was glad to avail himself of Michelangelo's advice in the purchase of cameos and gems, and was fond of saying that he valued him almost as highly as one of his Spanish grooms, who could run as fast as a horse at full gallop. Whether this patronage was not to Michelangelo's taste, or whether he foresaw the storm that was about to burst, he left Florence a few weeks before Piero was expelled, and spent some time in Bologna, where he carved the lovely kneeling angel on Niccolo Pisano's Arca di S. Domenico. There he saw Jacopo della Quercia's bas-reliefs of the story of Creation, on the doors of San Petronio, and was profoundly impressed, as the Sistine frescoes show, by their grand and massive types.

On his return to Florence, he found a new patron in Botticelli's friend, Lorenzo di Pierofrancesco de' Medici, at whose suggestion he made a sleeping Cupid, which was taken to Rome by a dealer, and sold as an antique to the Cardinal di San Giorgio. The dealer's fraud was discovered, but Michelangelo's Cupid became famous, and after passing from the palace of Urbino into the hands of Cæsar Borgia, eventually found a home in Isabella d'Este's Studio at Mantua. Michelangelo himself received an invitation from the Cardinal di San Giorgio, and spent the

next five years in Rome, working for different patrons. The admirable statue of Bacchus in the Bargello, and the beautiful Pietà in St. Peter's in Rome, both belong to this period, and were executed in the last years of the century, the one for the banker Jacopo Gallo, the other for the Abbot of St. Denis, the French envoy at the papal court. The Madonna of Bruges, another marble group, which combines the sweetness and devotion of the early Tuscan sculptors with Michelangelo's knowledge of form and masterly execution, and the unfinished circular bas-reliefs of Madonnas in the Bargello, and at Burlington House, were probably carved soon after the artist's return to Florence in 1501.

While Michelangelo was engaged on these works, his father and brother found themselves in great difficulties, and their importunate appeals were the chief cause of his return from Rome. On the expulsion of the Medici, Lodovico had lost a small post in the customs, which had been given him by Lorenzo, and his idle and incapable sons were always complaining of poverty, and writing begging letters to their absent brother. The more he gave, the more they demanded, and their ingratitude and rapacity excited Michelangelo's bitterest indignation. But they always turned to him for help and advice, and nothing is more remarkable in the great man's character than his constant affection for these worthless relatives. His correspondence with his father and brother begins in 1497, and gives us many interesting details regarding his habits and peculiarities. Lodovico repeatedly begs him to consider his health, and not to live in so penurious a manner.

Although he was always liberal to others, Michelangelo's own habits were singularly frugal. "Ascanio," he often remarked to his friend and biographer Condivi, "rich as I may have been, I have always lived like a poor man." He dined off a crust of bread which he ate in the midst of his labours, and slept little, generally going to bed in his clothes and high boots, and often sharing his room, and even his bed, with his assistants. A poet and a dreamer by nature, he devoted his spare moments to the study of Dante and Petrarch's poetry and the composition of sonnets, and his love of solitude, and irritable and suspicious temper, made him shrink from the society of others. Unlike Raphael, he formed no school, and never confided the execution of his designs to assistants. But to the few scholars such as Vasari, Sebastian del Piombo or Daniele da Volterra, who attached themselves to his person, his kindness and generosity were unbounded, and both his letters and sonnets reveal the depth of love and tenderness in his heart.

On his return to Florence, Michelangelo received an important commission from the Board of Works of the Duomo, who charged him to make a colossal statue out of a block of marble which had been spoilt by an inferior sculptor some years before. From this mis-shapen block, Michelangelo now carved his giant David, and on the 25th of January, 1504, eighteen leading Florentine masters met to choose a site for the new colossus. Sandro Botticelli and Cosimo Rosselli recommended the Piazza of the Duomo, Leonardo and the architect San Gallo were strongly of opinion that the statue should be placed in the

shelter of the Loggia dei Lanzi, while Filippino and Piero di Cosimo thought that the choice of the site ought to be left to Michelangelo. This last proposal was eventually adopted, and the David was set up on the steps of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it stood for more than three centuries. Once during a popular tumult in 1527, the left arm of the statue was broken, but the pieces were carefully picked up by Vasari, and put together again sixteen years later. On the whole, however, the colossus suffered very little damage, and now stands in a hall in the Accademia, where it was placed for greater security in 1873.

The success of this statue added enormously to Michelangelo's reputation. Before it was completed, important orders poured in upon him from all sides. The Board of Works of the Duomo gave him a commission for twelve life-sized statues of Apostles, to stand inside the Cathedral, and Piero Soderini ordered him to paint a fresco in the Council Hall, opposite the work on which Leonardo was already engaged. But only one Apostle was ever begun,—the roughly-hewn St. Matthew, now in the court of the Accademia—and the fresco was never painted. The cartoon which Michelangelo designed, and at which he worked during many months, both in 1504 and in 1506, hung during several years together with that of Leonardo in the Pope's hall, where it was admired and copied by every artist of the day. After this it was removed to the Medici Palace, and disappeared, torn in pieces, according to Vasari, during the confusion that reigned in the house at the time of Giuliano de' Medici's death. A few drawings in the Albertina at Vienna, and a chiaroscuro copy

by Aristotile di San Gallo, of a portion of the work at Holkham Hall, are all that remain of this famous composition which Cellini declares to have surpassed the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. The subject chosen by Michelangelo was an incident in the war with Pisa, when a troop of Florentine soldiers were surprised by the foe, while they were bathing in the Arno, and victoriously repulsed their assailants. The representation of these groups of men and youths, in every variety of attitude, some lying asleep on the ground, or climbing up the banks, and running to arms, while others are engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, was admirably suited to Michelangelo's genius, and the mastery with which he accomplished his task excited universal admiration among his contemporaries, and deepens the regret we must feel for this irreparable loss.

Two smaller paintings of this period have fortunately been preserved, and are the more precious, as being the only genuine works of the kind still in existence. One is the unfinished Deposition of the National Gallery, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Fesch, and was discovered fifty years ago in a dealer's shop in Rome. Several critics have disputed the authenticity of this fine study, but the grandeur of the design and fine modelling of the forms leave little room for doubt on the subject. The figure of one of the Maries on the right recalls Ghirlandajo's types, and reminds us that he was Michelangelo's first master, while the dead Christ bears a marked likeness to the marble Pietà in St. Peter's. The other picture of this period is the *tondo* of the Holy Family, which he painted in 1504, for his friend Angelo Doni. This wealthy but

parsimonious patron, whose features are familiar to us in Raphael's portrait, sent Michelangelo forty florins, instead of the sixty for which he had asked, upon which the master returned the money indignantly, and demanded him to send back the picture. Angelo Doni, however, knew the value of the work too well to let it go, and after a prolonged wrangle, he sent Michelangelo seventy florins, and kept the painting which now adorns the Tribune of the Uffizi. It is a singularly powerful and original work, characteristic alike of the master's defects and qualities. The Virgin, a strong handsome young Tuscan peasant-woman, kneels on the ground, and turns round with uplifted arms to receive the Child from St. Joseph. Behind a parapet, the young St. John is seen fixing his eager gaze on the Child, and five nude youths are introduced, sitting or leaning on a balustrade in the background. The figures are admirably foreshortened, and their complicated attitudes are rendered with consummate skill, while the nudes in their manly beauty are prototypes of the genii of the Sistina. There is little of Raphael's charm, or of Leonardo's suavity, but the expression of the Virgin's upturned face is noble and reverent, and the whole group is marked by a severe majesty that is highly characteristic of the artist.

Early in 1505, Michelangelo was called to Rome by the new Pope Julius II., and entered on the second period of his career. The rest of his long life was spent in the service of successive pontiffs, and his best years were wasted in planning vast schemes, never destined to be realised, for these imperious and changeable masters. Julius II., in

his passion for gigantic works, began by employing him to construct a colossal monument for his own tomb. This huge structure was to stand in the tribune of St. Peter's, and was to be adorned with countless statues and reliefs, illustrating the Pope's triumphs. But this elaborate project was never carried out. The Tragedy of the Tomb, as Condivi calls it, dragged its weary course through forty years, and embittered Michelangelo's whole life. The Pope sent him to quarry marbles at Carrara, and took a childish delight in counting the cart-loads of masonic blocks which reached the Vatican. He paid constant visits to the sculptor's shop, gave him a house to live in, and loaded him with favours. But whether his thoughts were absorbed by his new campaign against Bologna, or whether, as Michelangelo firmly believed, his mind was poisoned by the jealous intrigues of Bramante, he soon grew tired of this scheme, and treated the artist with neglect. One day Michelangelo, being in urgent need of money, asked to see His Holiness, and was turned away by a groom. "Tell the Pope," he exclaimed, "that the next time he wants me, he will find me elsewhere." That evening he left Rome for Florence, and neither the Pope's commands, nor the prayers of his friends, could induce him to return. Julius sent no less than three papal briefs to the Signory, demanding that Michelangelo should be given up to him, and it was not until the Gonfaloniere told the artist that the city could not go to war on his account, that he consented to obey the Pope's summons. In November, 1506, he joined the pontiff at Bologna, and spent the next year in making a bronze statue of His Holiness,

which was placed over the doors of S. Petronio, but which was unfortunately destroyed in a popular tumult three years later.

In March, 1508, Michelangelo returned to Rome, hoping to resume his work on the statues of the Tomb, but the Pope ordered him to abandon sculpture for the present and paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel. In vain Michelangelo declared that painting was not his trade, and that Raphael of Urbino was the right man for the work. Julius insisted, and the artist reluctantly began to prepare cartoons for his mighty task. When we consider the immense extent of the chapel roof, and the variety of curves, spandrels, and pendentives which break up its surface, when we remember that this vast space contains some two hundred figures of colossal height, and recall the marvellous beauty and animation of the whole, we begin to realise the stupendous greatness of the work which Michelangelo executed almost entirely alone. The able artists whom he had summoned from Florence to act as his assistants, including Granacci, Bugiardini and Aristotile di San Gallo, failed to satisfy his requirements, and were summarily dismissed. But in spite of endless troubles and disappointments, Michelangelo succeeded in accomplishing the whole work in the space of four years and a half. His letters during this time unfold a piteous tale of petty grievances and wrongs. His enemies were busy at their old intrigues, his servants cheated and annoyed him, and the Pope was absent and short of money. Twice over Michelangelo had to leave his work and travel to Bologna to beg for supplies. Each time he returned without a

farthing. At home his brothers were quarrelsome and wasteful, and treated their old father unkindly. On all sides people seemed to conspire to vex and thwart him.

"I am living here in discontent," he wrote in June, 1508, "never well and undergoing great fatigues; without money or friends."

And, the following January, in a letter to his father, he says:

"I am still all perplexed, for I have not received any money whatever from the Pope, and I do not ask him for any, as my work is not far enough advanced to receive payment. This is because of the difficulty of the work and because such painting is not my profession, so I waste my time in vain. God help me!"

On the Feast of All Saints, 1509, a portion of the vault was uncovered to satisfy the Pope's impatience, and excited general admiration. But the work was still far from being complete, and the great master had still many difficulties to overcome.

"I am suffering greater hardships than ever man endured," he wrote in a black fit of despondency in July, 1512. "I am ill and overwhelmed with labour. But I put up with all, if only I can reach the desired end."

A few weeks later he preached patience to his father, who was grumbling at the over-heavy taxes which the Florentines had to pay:

"If you are treated worse than others, refuse to pay. Let them seize your goods and tell me. But if you are treated the same as others, be patient and hope in God. It is enough to have bread and to live, as I do, in the faith

of Christ. I live humbly here and care little for the world's honour. I endure great weariness and hopelessness, but so it has been with me for the last fifteen years—I have never known an hour's comfort. You have never believed how hard I have tried to help you. God forgive us all! I am ready, as far as I can, to do the same as long as I live."

Through failure and despondency the great master worked steadily on, and at length, in October, 1512, the whole of the vault was uncovered, and all Rome flocked to see the result of his labours. That day Michelangelo's triumph was complete. Friends and foes alike rejoiced over the magnificent work, and Raphael was foremost among the painters who recognised his rival's complete success. "Look at Raphael," said Pope Julius to Sebastian del Piombo, "who, after seeing Michelangelo's frescoes, immediately abandoned Perugino's manner and tried to imitate that of Buonarroti." Michelangelo himself announced the completion of the work to his father in these simple words: "I have finished the painting of the chapel. The Pope is very well satisfied, but other things are not as I should wish."

The frescoes of the Sistina were the grandest achievement of Michelangelo's art. In them we see the most sublime manifestation of his creative faculties and technical powers, produced at a time when he was in the fulness of bodily strength and mental vigour. Whether we regard the artistic beauty and grandeur of the decoration, or the intellectual conception of the scheme, the work is alike marvellous. The whole story of Creation, of the Fall of Man and the Deluge is set forth in the nine large compartments of the central vault. On the

spandrels in the angles of the roof, four special mercies to God's people—the Brazen Serpent, the Death of Goliath, the Punishment of Haman, and the Triumph of Judith—are represented as types of the world's redemption. Twelve figures of Sibyls and Prophets in the spaces between the windows, bear witness to the coming of Christ, and the lunettes above are filled with family groups of the royal line of David and ancestors of the Virgin Mary. But Michelangelo's labours did not end here. After unfolding the story of the great Christian epic on the stone vault, he filled up the angles, curves, and cornices of the roof with nude forms of youths and children in every variety of attitude. And there, prominent among this great army of living creatures, he placed those twenty heroic figures, in whose youthful strength and loveliness we see the most perfect expression of the painter's dream.

Unfortunately, just at this moment when Michelangelo's powers were at their best and his style was fully developed, his time and strength were frittered away upon a series of architectural and engineering schemes which consumed the most precious years of his life. Four months after the completion of the Sistina frescoes, Julius II. died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, who assumed the title of Leo X. The new Pope, who had known Michelangelo as a boy in his father's home, was anxious to employ him for his own ends, and, in 1514, he summoned him to erect a façade for the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence.

During the last year, Michelangelo had devoted all his energies to the Tomb of Julius II., and had

produced the famous Moses and the two Slaves of the Louvre which, in perfection of manly beauty, rival the genii of the Sistina, while in power of expression they equal his finest works in marble. It was with the greatest reluctance that he once more abandoned his unfinished work at the new Pope's command, and left Rome "with tears in his eyes." In spite, however, of his repeated protests that architecture was not his profession, he soon threw himself with habitual energy into this new work, and wrote from Carrara, where he was engaged in quarrying marbles with an army of stone-cutters and road-makers under his orders, that he "hoped with God's help to produce the finest thing that Italy had ever seen." He built large workshops in Florence, and brought huge columns and blocks of marble from Carrara and Serravezza. Suddenly the Pope changed his mind and cancelled the contract for the façade, to the bitter indignation of the master, who justly complained of the insult to himself, and of the cruel waste of his time and powers during these five years. But Leo X. had never fully appreciated Michelangelo's work, and found, as he said to Sebastian del Piombo, that he was too terrible a man for him.

The next Medici Pope, Clement VII., employed the great master to build the Laurentian Library and design the new Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, to contain the tombs of his kinsmen. The interior of the Sacristy was to be decorated with frescoes and bas-reliefs, and six sarcophagi placed in the midst, adorned with portrait-statues of the great Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano, of Popes Leo X. and Clement VII., and of the Dukes of Urbino

and Nemours. As before, however, Michelangelo found himself sadly hampered in the execution of his project, and although Clement treated him with more consideration than his predecessors, his kindly intentions were frustrated by the disastrous events of 1527. Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperial troops, the Medici were expelled from Florence, and a Republic was once more proclaimed. Two years later, Charles V. made peace with Clement, and Florence was sacrificed to the Pope's vengeance. In 1529, the Imperial armies besieged the city, and Michelangelo was appointed director of the fortifications by the Signoria. He took an active part in the defence, and traces of the works which he constructed on the heights of San Miniato are still in existence. All through the siege, however, he worked in secret at the Medici tombs, and when Florence was betrayed to her foes, and the Imperial troops entered the city in August, 1530, he was left at liberty, by the Pope's orders, in order that he might resume his work in S. Lorenzo. His plans for the decoration of the Sacristy were never carried out, his colossal Madonna remains unfinished, and the figures of Cosimo and Damiano were executed by assistants. But his statues of the two dukes, and recumbent figures of Night and Day, Twilight and Dawn, are among the grandest works of Renaissance sculpture. There is no attempt at portraiture. As he said himself: "Who will care in another thousand years if these features are theirs or not?" This warrior Duke, with the helmet overshadowing his dark face, as, wrapt in gloomy meditation, he broods over the doom of Florence this martial youth with the bâton on

his knee, waiting to rise and go forth, these weary Titans reclining at their feet, are immortal allegories of life and death, of thought and action. In this Dawn, wearily waking out of sleep, in this Night sunk in death-like slumber, Michelangelo gave utterance to the grief and shame of his own soul, and the burden of his eternal regrets. If anything were needed to tell us this, the lines which he wrote on the *Notte*, would be enough to show the thoughts that were working in his brain, when, at the bidding of a Medici Pope, he carved these marbles within the walls of captive Florence.

"Caro m'è il sonno, e più l'esser di sasso,
Mentre il danno e la vergogna dura:
Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura
Però non mi destar. Deh! parla basso!"

"Good it is to slumber, and better still to be marble. Not to see, not to feel, is fortunate in these days of shame and misery. Therefore, do not wake me. Speak low, I pray you!"

In his early works, drawing his inspiration from antique marbles, Michelangelo had given expression to the radiant beauty and god-like strength of manhood; in the masterpieces of his middle period, the pride of life, the moral and physical sovereignty of man, had been the thought that was uppermost in his mind. In the creations of his latter days we read the sense of revolt and resistance, of scorn and suffering, which opposition and injustice had aroused in his breast, until last of all, every other feeling gives way to profound melancholy and unutterable weariness, and the wish to see and feel nothing, to sleep and wake no more.

In 1534, Michelangelo's father died at the age of

ninety, and after writing a touching poem to his memory, the great master left Florence. He never saw his native city again, and the remaining thirty years of his life were spent in Rome. Two days after his arrival Clement VII. died, and the first act of his successor, Paul III., was to appoint Michelangelo chief architect, sculptor and painter of the Vatican. At his command the great master painted the Last Judgment on the wall above the altar of the Sistine Chapel. This fresco was uncovered on Christmas day, 1541, and the fame of Michelangelo's latest work spread throughout Italy. It is impossible to judge this celebrated work fairly, in its present ruined state. Time and neglect, smoke and grime, the decorator's hand and the restorer's brush, have irreparably destroyed the colour, and we can only study the details of that scheme of composition which excited the wonder of his contemporaries. What Vasari describes as the grand style, "consummate knowledge of the human form, absolute perfection of proportions, and the greatest possible variety of attitudes, passions, and emotions," are certainly seen here. But the subject was little suited to Michelangelo's genius, and in spite of its vigorous conception and execution, the work bears evident signs of fatigue and discontent. The living fire that animates every face and form of the countless host on the vault overhead, is lacking here. The painter's science has become more barren, his types are cold and lifeless. The same dulness and formalism strike us still more forcibly in the frescoes of the Martyrdom of St. Peter and the Conversion of St. Paul, which Michelangelo painted in the Cappella Paolina of

the Vatican, a short time before the Pope's death. Here the faces are cold and inexpressive, and the figures, in spite of their violent action and distorted attitudes, are wanting in life and vigour. The decay of power is evident, and we think sadly of the seven years of "great effort and fatigue" which they cost the aged master. When he finished these frescoes, Michelangelo was already seventy-five, and as he told Vasari, "fresco-painting was not fit work for old men."

His last years were chiefly devoted to architectural works. In 1547, Paul III. appointed him architect of St. Peter's, and he held this office under five successive Popes, without accepting any salary, "solely out of love to God and reverence for the Prince of the Apostles." In vain Duke Cosimo de' Medici sent Vasari and Cellini to implore him to return to Florence. No offers or entreaties could induce him to desert his post.

"I was set to work upon St. Peter's against my will," he wrote, "and I have served eight years without wages, and with great injury and discomfort to my health. Now that the work is being pushed forward and I am on the point of vaulting in the Cupola, my departure from Rome would ruin the structure and would be a great disgrace to Christendom, and a grievous sin on my part."

After Michelangelo's death, however, the building was entirely re-modelled, the plan of a Latin cross was substituted for the Greek one which he had designed, and Bernini's modern façade was allowed to destroy the imposing effect of the cupola which he had modelled. It is only when we look down on the

dome of St. Peter's from the seven hills of Rome or the far plains of the Campagna that we realise the glory of Michelangelo's last great creation. To the end his brain was busy with vast projects. The completion of the Farnese palace and the reconstruction of the Capitol were among the labours of his closing years. He it was who placed the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the pedestal in the centre of the Piazza and designed the flight of steps leading up to Ara Cœli, and the grand staircase of the Palazzo del Senatore.

The tragic fate which had attended so many of Michelangelo's grandest works, above all, the infinite trouble and perpetual quarrels which arose over the unfinished Tomb of Julius II., clouded his last years with a sense of gloom and failure.

"My whole youth and manhood have been lost," he wrote on one occasion, "tied down to this tomb. Painting and sculpture, labour and good faith have been my ruin, and I go steadily from bad to worse. Better would it have been for me, if I had learnt to make matches in my youth. At least I should not suffer such distress of mind as I do now."

But his friendship with Vittoria Colonna threw a ray of light on his sorrowful old age. Michelangelo first met the widowed Marchesa of Pescara in 1438, when she was living in a Benedictine convent in Rome, spending her time in devotional exercises and writing poetry, and enjoying the society of a few serious thinkers such as Ochino and Contarini, who had been strongly influenced by the movement of the Reformation. The great master, who read his Bible constantly and retained his old veneration for Savonarola, found

in this illustrious lady a friend who shared his deepest thoughts. Together they talked of art and poetry, of God and the soul. When she paid her yearly visits to Orvieto and Viterbo, she wrote frequent letters to her "more than dearest friend," and he in return sent her sonnets and drawings of Crucified Christs and Pietàs.

"I had the greatest faith in God," she writes, in acknowledging one of these, "that He would bestow upon you supernatural grace for the making of this Christ. The design is in all parts perfect and consummate, and I could not desire more. I tell you that I am greatly pleased to see the angel on the right hand is by far the fairer, since he, Michael, will place you, Michelangelo, upon the right hand of our Lord on that last day. Meanwhile, I cannot serve you better than by praying to this sweet Christ, whom you have drawn so well and perfectly, and begging you to hold me ever at your service."

Michelangelo often took part in the Sunday gatherings at the Marchesa's rooms, where churchmen and scholars met to discuss literary and æsthetic subjects, and the painter, Francesco d'Olanda, has recorded some interesting fragments of the great man's conversation. His defence of the eccentricities of artists is very characteristic, and is in reality an apology for his own habits:

"You accuse painters of being rude and ill-mannered, but the fact is, they are bound to refrain from idle compliments because their art claims their whole energies. I can assure your Excellency that even His Holiness annoys me sometimes, by asking me why I do not appear more often in his presence. Then I tell him that I can serve him better by working at home than by dancing attendance for

a whole day in his reception-rooms. Happily, the serious labours of my life give me so much liberty that in talking to the Pope, I often forget where I am, and put my hat on my head. However, he does not put me to death on that account, but treats me with indulgence, knowing that it is just at such times that I am working the hardest to serve him."

The words recall a remark which is said to have been made by Pope Clement VII. :—

"When Buonarroti comes to see me, I always take a seat and beg him to be seated, feeling sure that he will do so without waiting for my leave."

Another time the Marchesa contrived to turn the conversation on art, and asked Michelangelo if he held it best for a painter to work slowly or quickly. He replied that no doubt artists who could paint rapidly without sacrificing any degree of excellence deserved the highest praise, but that a good master would never allow the impetuosity of his nature to mar the perfection of his art. The one unpardonable fault, he insists, is bad work. Speaking of religious art, he took up Savonarola's argument and maintained, as he had said before to the sculptor Ammanati, that "good Christians always make good and beautiful figures. In order to represent the adored image of our Lord, it is not enough that a master should be great and able. I maintain that he must also be a man of good morals and conduct, if possible a saint, in order that the Holy Ghost may give him inspiration."

Vittoria Colonna died in 1547, and Michelangelo poured out his love and grief in the sonnets which he wrote at the time, and in a touching letter in which

he says: "She felt the greatest affection for me and I not less for her. Death has robbed me of a dear friend." And he told Condivi how much he regretted that when he took leave of her as she lay dying, he had only kissed her hand and not her forehead. The religious feelings which his intercourse with her had deepened, found expression in those drawings of Crucified Christs and Pietàs which are still to be seen in many collections. The great picture which he had in his mind at the time was never painted, but his idea was partly realised in the unfinished marble Pietà behind the high altar in the Duomo of Florence, which he originally intended for his own tomb. And the pathetic sonnet which he sent to Vasari when he was past eighty is the last and most sublime expression of the tired soul turning back to God.

> "Ne' pinger ne scolpir fia più' che queti,
> L'anima volta a quell' Amor Divino
> Ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccia."

"Neither painting nor sculpture can any longer bring peace to the soul that seeks the Divine Love which opened its arms on the cross to receive us."

The correspondence of the aged master with his nephew Leonardo gives us many interesting details about his last years. His tone is often querulous and irritable, but he is full of concern for his nephew's happiness. He improved the old family house in the Via Ghibellina—now the Museo Buonarroti—and was very anxious that his race should not die out. Art he had always said was the only wife he needed, and the works he left behind him would be his children. "Woe to Ghiberti if he had not made the gates of San Giovanni. His children soon squandered his

fortune, but the gates are still in their places." But he urged his nephew to marry, and was much gratified when, in May, 1554, Leonardo's wife bore him a son. Vasari sent him an account of the christening festivities, and he thanked him for thinking of the poor old man in Rome, but complained there had been too much pomp and show, and told his nephew that he had done wrong in "celebrating a birth with a mirth and rejoicing that should rather be reserved for the death of one who has lived well." In these last days of increasing feebleness he spent much of his time in reading Savonarola's sermons, and often spoke of the great Friar whom he honoured as the champion of the liberties of Florence and of the faith of Christ.

In 1555, he suffered a heavy loss in the death of his faithful servant Urbino, over whom he sorrowed deeply.

"Even more than dying," he wrote to Vasari, "it grieved him to leave me alive in this treacherous world, with so many troubles, and yet the better part of me is gone with him."

He lingered on eight years, tenderly cared for by his friends Condivi and Tommaso Cavalieri and the artist Daniele da Volterra, until the 18th of February, 1564, when he passed quietly away at the hour of the Ave Maria, begging his friends, when their last hour came, to "think upon the sufferings of Jesus Christ."

So entirely did the Romans consider Michelangelo to be one of themselves, that they made preparations for his burial in the SS. Apostoli, and his nephew Leonardo was obliged to remove the body by night

from the church and send it secretly to Florence. On the evening of the 12th of March, the members of Duke Cosimo's new Academy, which had chosen Michelangelo for their first President, bore the illustrious dead in solemn procession to Santa Croce. Here, four months later, an imposing funeral service was held, and the tasteless monument erected by Vasari bore witness to the general decadence of art in Italy.

Michelangelo had outlived all the painters of his generation. Raphael had been dead forty-four years, Leonardo forty-five, and of all the illustrious company who had met to choose the site of David, sixty years before, not one was left. With him the race of giants who had made the sixteenth century famous passed away. Before his death, Florence had already lost much of her old glory, and had ceased to be the home of art and culture and the centre of Italian civilization. Her great days were over, and, deprived of freedom and independence, the city of Dante and Savonarola sank into obscurity and insignificance. The arts which had blossomed on the banks of Arno during three centuries and more, fell into decay, and the great movement of the Renaissance reached its appointed end.

CHIEF WORKS—

Florence.—*Uffizi:* 1139. Holy Family.

Rome. — *Sistine Chapel:* Frescoes—*Ceiling:* Story of Creation, Fall of Man, Deluge, Brazen Serpent, David and Goliath, Haman, Judith, Prophets and Sibyls.—*W. Wall:* Last Judgment.

" *Cappella Paolina:* Frescoes — Conversion of St. Paul, Martyrdom of St. Peter.

London. —*National Gallery:* 790. Deposition (unfinished).

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